TANJORE DISTRICT HANDBOOK

BY

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ERRATA TO THE TANJORE DISTRICT HANDBOOK.

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PREFACE.

The need for bringing out a volume containing the history and administration of each district for the use of the administrators as well as the general public has more than once been recognized during the last hundred years. In the sixties, seventies and eighties of the last century, a Manual was prepared for almost every district, containing much interesting information. Subsequently, in the opening years of this century, Gazetteers were prepared for several districts at the instance of the Government of India. They too contained a good deal of useful information. They were accompanied by separate volumes containing statistics. Between 1928 and 1935, when the statistical volumes were revised, some supplemental information collected for the main volumes was incorporated in them. In 1954 the question of completely re-writing the Gazetteers and bringing them up to date was taken up. Shri Sri Prakasa, the Governor, evinced a keen interest in the work, and stressed its need; and the Government decided to prepare fresh Gazetteers for all the districts and to call them 'District Handbooks'. It was, however, considered unnecessary to publish statistical volumes, as the statistics in such volumes speedily become out of date and as they can always be gathered, when required, from the Census Handbooks, Administration Reports, etc.

The old Gazetteers were written mostly with the help of the materials that could be readily collected in the districts. They were not written with the help of the records of the Government, with the result that they failed to trace the growth of district

administration in all its branches against the background of the general policies pursued from time to time by the Government. This defect, it was thought, should be rectified by making full use of the records of the Government centralized in the Madras Record Office and accordingly the work of preparing the Handbooks was entrusted to me.

The Tanjore District Handbook is the first of the Handbooks written under the new scheme. In writing this book full use has been made of the Manual of the Tanjore District published in 1883, the Gazetteer of the Tanjore District published in 1906 and reprinted in 1915 and the Supplementary Gazetteer published in 1933. Use has also been made of the records, reports and the latest books available. The old Gazetteer contained fifteen chapters. Some of these chapters have been clubbed together and some new chapters have been added bringing the number of chapters in the Handbook to seventeen. To ir[illegible] in essence the contents of these chapter[illegible] contains not only the physical [illegible] district and its flora and faun[illegible] [illegible]nt of its climate, seasons, fl[illegible] Chapters II and III revie[illegible] [illegible]er the political, administrative, [illegible] [illegible]omic history of the district from the [illegible] [illegible]es down to the nineteenth century. Based as it is on all recent works of research and on the records available in this office, it differs widely from the account given in the old District Gazetteer and the Manual. Chapter IV is an entirely new chapter which traces in sufficient detail the history of the rise of nationalism and the achievement of independence. Here are described in the background of All-India and Madras movements all the political events that took place in the district. The whole chapter is based on hitherto unpublished materials, on

records—non-confidential, confidential as well as secret —and has been written in as dispassionate a manner as possible. Chapter V deals with 'The Peoples, their castes, religions, manners, customs, superstitions, etc. It contains much material not to be found in the old Gazetteer. The remaining chapters deal with administration as it developed since about 1800. Chapter VI describes the development of Agriculture and Irrigation and stresses the great attention paid to these in recent times. Chapter VII on Forests and Chapter VIII on Industries and Trade contain a great deal of new material. Chapter IX on Co-operation, a subject of growing importance in these days, is an entirely new chapter. Chapter X on Welfare Schemes is equally new, dealing as it does with new subjects like Rural Welfare, Prohibition, Harijan Welfare, Labour Welfare, Women's Welfare, Electricity, Rural Broadcasting and Community Listening and the administration of Hindu Religious Endowments. Chapter XI on Communications contains an account of the growth of the means of communications like roads, railways, canals, etc.; much fresh material has been traced and incorporated in this chapter. Chapter XII dealing with Public Health (preventive and curative), Chapter XIII dealing with Education, Chapter XIV dealing with Local Administration and Chapter XV dealing with Law and Order have been completely re-written incorporating in them a great deal of fresh material. Chapter XVI relating to Land Revenue as well as other revenues like Commercial Taxes, Income-tax, Customs, etc., also contains much fresh material. Land Revenue had been the forte of the writers of the old Gazetteers, but even here new information has been traced and incorporated. The last chapter, Chapter XVII, relating to the Gazetteer portion does not, however, contain much that is new, dealing as it does with places of antiquarian or historical

interest about which most of the information available has already been made use of by the writers of the old Gazetteer and the Supplementary Gazetteer. All unessential details like the number of schools, hospitals, dispensaries, government offices, etc., have, however, been omitted and the whole chapter has been made as interesting as possible. The entire book has been brought down to 1950 the year up to which the records were available in this office at the time of writing.

As and when the several chapters were written they were sent to the Collector or the Head of the Department concerned for scrutiny and the suggestions made by them were incorporated as far as possible. My thanks are due to them for the care with which the chapters were scrutinized by them. My thanks are also due to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, the well-known historians, who were kind enough to go through the chapters on the Earlier History and the Later History and to make valuable suggestions. They are likewise due to Sri M. C. Subramanian, M.A., Assistant Curator, Madras Record Office, who has helped me in various ways in the preparation of this book. I am also indebted to Sri P. S. Ramachandra Ayyar and Sri V. Kunhikannan Nair, my assistants, for having patiently traced and collected all the relevant records for my study and prepared the Index.

EGMORE MADRAS,
11*th April* 1956.

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Curator, Madras Record Office.

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JUL 1957

TANJORE DISTRICT HANDBOOK

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The Tanjore district, the granary of the south, the one vast expanse of rice fields and fruit gardens, lies on the east coast of the Madras State between 9°50′ and 11°25′ of the northern latitude and 78°45′ and 79°50′ of the eastern longitude. Having an area of 3,738 square miles, it is bounded on the north by the districts of South Arcot and Tiruchirappalli, on the west by the district of Tiruchirappalli, on the south by the district of Ramanathapuram and the Palk Strait, and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. Its sea-board is consequently made up of two sections, one extending 72 miles from the mouth of the Coleroon to Point Calimere in the south and the other bordering the Palk Strait for 68 miles from Point Calimere to the Ramanathapuram district. About the middle of the former of these sections is situated a small bit of foreign territory, the French Settlement of Karaikkal[1].

The district owes its riches in no small measure to its physical characteristics. That nature makes man is nowhere displayed more truly than in Tanjore where the Cauvery delta has for centuries produced food crops in abundance and fixed in it the seat of culture and civilization. It was here that the Chola emperors of old had their magnificent capital and it is here that even to-day the richest towns of the district are situated. The delta covers the whole northern and eastern portions of the district where the Cauvery with its wide network of branches irrigates more than half of the district. It comprises the whole of the Kumbakonam, Mayuram, Sirkali and Nannilam taluks and parts of the Tanjore, Papanasam, Mannargudi, Tiruthuraipundi and Nagapattinam taluks. This entire area is now known as old delta to distinguish it from the area newly irrigated by the Cauvery-Mettur Project in the southern portion.[2] A vast flat alluvial plain of unending paddy fields, it is diversified only with the rich groves of mango, coconut and other trees, all sloping gently to the sea. Here are to be found neither hills nor hillocks, save the ridges of blown sand which fringe the narrow strip of beach along the coast. Nor are to be found here any forests of importance. And yet the country cannot but be said to present a picturesque appearance. A diarist of the eighteenth century was greatly

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[1] Since writing this, Karaikkal has become part of the Indian Union (1954).
[2] A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Province, 1949, page 727.

impressed by its long avenues of coconut trees lining the roads, by the rows of fine houses, temples, mandapams, agraharams, pandals and canals found in every town and village and by the wide areas of cultivated lands watered by the net work of the Cauvery [1] and the same description holds good now.

The rest of the district, its southern and western parts, are actually the non-deltaic or upland regions. They comprise the whole of the Pattukkottai and Arantangi taluks, the southern portions of the Tanjore and Papanasam taluks and the western portion of the Mannargudi taluk. A good portion of this previously dry area has now been brought under irrigation by the completion of the Cauvery-Mettur Project, by the opening of a new canal called the Grand Anicut Canal and by the extension of the Vadavar river. But to the west of this a considerable area still continues dry, save a small portion in the north-westernend adjoining the Tiruchirappalli district where the ayacut under some non-deltaic tanks is now fed by the Uyyakondan extension channel [2]. All these non-delta upland regions are, like the delta regions, an open plain sloping towards the east and are devoid of any hills or forests. South and south-west of Tanjore, however, the country rises and forms a small plateau known as the Vallam table land, broken by small ridges of grits and sand-stones.

The two great divisions of the country, the delta and the non-delta portions, are varied by a third great natural division, namely, the Vedaranniyam salt swamp. Running, as this swamp does, along the coast from Point Calimere westwards, and covering an area of about 30 miles long and four or five miles wide, it is the longest swamp of its kind in this State. It is filled by two periodical high tides, the Chittrai Parvam and the Visaka Vellam occurring on or about the full moon in May and June respectively ; and it retains the sea water to a depth of two feet over a considerable area enclosed by low earthen banks which, when the beds are filled, are closed to prevent the water from flowing back into the sea. It is in this manner that the well-known Vedaranniyam spontaneous salt is produced.

The most conspicuous features of the district are the river Cauvery and its branches. The Cauvery which rises in the Coorg mountains bifurcates about nine miles west of Tiruchirappalli into two branches of which the northern takes the name of Coleroon and the southern retains the name of Cauvery. About seventeen miles below this point, the two streams very nearly unite forming between them the island of Srirangam, but thereafter the Coleroon takes a northeaste.ly direction skirting the district along its entire length

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'No. 1537, Revenue, dated 25th August 1922 (printed), page 4.
'stical Atlas of the Madras Province, 1949, page 727.

on the north and enters the sea at Devicottai with its volume of water practically undiminished, while the Cauvery takes a southern direction splitting up into numerous branches and covers the whole of the delta with a vast net work of irrigation channels. Some of the branches of the Cauvery find their way into the sea carrying with them all the surplus water discharged by the drainage of the wet cultivation. Others, however, get lost in the wide expanse of rice fields. The Cauvery itself now reduced to an insignificant channel debouches into the sea at Kaveripattinam about eight miles north of Tranquebar.

Fed by the rains of both the monsoons, the Cauvery and its tributaries offer an abundant flow which is generally constant for about nine months in the year. The first freshes occur in the middle of June and this enables cultivation to be commenced. The supply continues fairly good till the middle of July when, with the heavy rains of the south-west monsoon, the freshes come down once more continuing the full supply through the whole of August. In September, however, the river runs generally very low, though the local rains keep the crops from withering. In October and November, small freshes occur as a result of the north-east monsoon and these sometimes culminate about the middle of November in heavy floods. Thereafter the supply gradually diminishes till March when the bed becomes dry [1].

The main branches of the Cauvery are the Vennar, the Kudamuruttiyar and the Arasalar, and all these in turn branch off into a number of smaller rivers. Several of them are navigable for a few miles by small craft, but only three of them have harbours at their mouths which are now used. These are the Adappar which forms the harbour of Topputurai, the Uppanar which ends in the port of Tirumullaivasal and the Koraiyar which connects the harbour of Muttupet with the sea. River traffic in these and other larger rivers in the district has now fallen off, consequent on the ramification of roads and railways. Almost all the rivers are also subject to floods some of which have proved disastrous.

The coast of the district is studded with no less than eleven ports (the Manual mentions even sixteen ports [2]), of which only a few are open to foreign trade. They are from north to south Tirumullaivasal, Tranquebar, Nagapattinam, Velanganni, Topputturai, Point Calimere, Muttupet, Adirampattinam, Kodiyampalaiyam, Kattumavadi and Nagore. The anchorage is good at all these places. It is even more sheltered at the ports south and west of Point Calimere, but then the shoals make it necessary here for big ships to anchor

[1] Madras Irrigation Systems, 1883, pages 143–144.
[2] Tanjore District Manual, Vol. I, page 9.

at a great distance (from two to four miles) from the shore, whereas at the ports north of Point Calimere, they can come as close as from three quarters of a mile to one and a half miles. No boats, small or large, anchor closer than this, as there is a heavy ground swell. Goods are brought from the ships to the shore on cargo boats of various sizes up to ten tons burden. Facilities for landing vary at different ports. At Topputturai the mouth of the harbour is so good that craft of 30 tons burden can enter it for six months in the year and easily land the goods, whereas at Tranquebar, Point Calimere and Adirampattinam there being no harbours, the cargo boats have to be beached on the shore. At Nagapattinam there are adequate wharfs, but the entrance is so blocked by shoals that it is often difficult and dangerous for boats. At Tirumullaivasal the harbour is excellent when the river is in flood, but in the dry weather, it is full of shoals and can be used only at high water. The ports west of Point Calimere are even much worse; shoals of mud block up the reaches of the rivers and the cargo has often to be landed outside and taken to the port on carts or canoes.[1]

The soils of the district form, in the main, four classes, the alluvial series, the regar (black series), the red ferruginous and the arenaceous. The soil of the delta is entirely alluvial but varies greatly in quality. The best variety of it is found in the west of the district and the quality slowly deteriorates as we pass further east, the limit of the high class soil coinciding approximately with the north and south line of the railway between Mayuram and Tiruthuraipundi. East of this we meet with a heavy black soil, less fertile and sometimes water-logged, but the worst land in the delta is to be found in the Tiruthuraipundi and Nagapattinam taluks where the soil is saline and arenaceous and where the drainage is very defective owing to certain rivers failing to get a free discharge into the Nagapattinam-Vedaranniyam Canal. This land forms a striking contrast to the rich lands near Tiruvaiyar which form what is called "the breast of Tanjore" and which are famous even beyond the limits of the district. Along the banks of the bigger rivers in the Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Papanasam taluks there is a strip of very rich padugai lands which, though not directly irrigated, are more valuable than the adjoining wet lands. The upland tracts of the district consist mainly of red ferruginous soil, but towards the west there are a few out-crops of gritty sandstones, the most conspicuous of which forms the Vallam ridge. Towards the sea-coast in the Pattukkottai taluk and in much of the Arantangi taluk, the soil is arenaceous. With careful cultivation the red soils are by no means wanting

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 4–5.

in fertility if well irrigated.[1] The percentage distribution of soils under "wet" and "dry" in each taluk is as follows:—[2]

Taluk.	Wet. Alluvial.	Wet. Regar.	Wet. Red.	Wet. Arenaceous.
Tanjore	32	39	29	..
Papanasam	28	68	4	..
Kumbakonam	64	36	..	..
Mayuram	70	23	..	7
Sirkali	..	76	..	24
Nannilam	55	45	..	..
Nagapattinam	..	92	..	8
Mannargudi	..	87	13	..
Tiruthuraipundi	..	93	1·0	6
Pattukkottai	..	..	99·7	0·3
Arantangi	..	..	99	1
Total	249	559	245·7	46·3

Taluk.	Dry. Alluvial.	Dry. Regar.	Dry. Red.	Dry. Arenaceous.
Tanjore	6	10	84	..
Papanasam	38	22	40	..
Kumbakonam	59	41	..	..
Mayuram	61	21	..	18
Sirkali	..	53	..	47
Nannilam	56	44	..	..
Nagapattinam	..	45	..	55
Mannargudi	..	15	85	..
Tiruthuraipundi	..	61	11	28
Pattukkottai	..	..	99·7	0·3
Arantangi	..	..	87	13
Total	220	312	406·7	161·3

There is nothing remarkable about the geological formation of the district. The delta area is wholly covered by fluviatile alluvium of varying composition. In the more western portion, the alluvium partakes more of rich loam sometimes in the form of fine reddish silt and sometimes of blackish clay, but often of pale clayey mud which, however, gradually diminishes towards the coast until it is lost in the blown sands. The upland portion of the district, excepting the country round Pattukkottai, is occupied by lateritic rocks. These rocks meet the fluviatile alluvium at the western extremity of the district, not far from the south bank of the Cauvery, but the belt of alluvium widens as it runs eastwards, while the lateritic areas gradually narrow until, some twenty miles south-east of Tanjore, they disappear beneath the alluvium. Another branch of them travels in a straight line from Tanjore as far as the Pattukkottai country and eastwards until it

[1] G.O. No. 1537, Revenue, dated 25th August 1922 (printed), pages 4–5.
[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District Vol.. I, 1915, pages 5–6.
[3] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, 1953, page 3.

meets the marine deposits near Pattukkottai as it approaches the sea. Near Gandarvakottai on the Pudukkottai border are found what are called Cuddalore sandstones, hard heavy sandstones, overlaid by gritty varieties of the same rock having different colours like mottled pale purple, yellow and rusty red. [1]

The sea on the Tanjore coast is said to have a tendency to encroach gradually on the land. It is said to have buried completely several feet underground the famous port of Kaverippumpattinam which was flourishing in the days of the Chola Kings.[2] In more recent times it is known to have encroached on Tranquebar and eroded some four or five hundred feet of land until it was stopped by expensive groins. Indeed, there seems to be a constant strife going on her[e] between the sea and the land in which the land is giving way, in which the alluvium of the delta is gradually yielding to the denuding action of the waves.[3]

Fifty years ago, it was believed that the district could boast of only a few minerals, some iron, certain quartizite products called " Vallam stones ", laterite, sand stones, kankar and some yellow ochre and soda. Recent discoveries have, however, revealed the existence of some important minerals, namely, peat or lignite, natural gas, ilmenite and zircon. Iron is found in the lateritic rocks of the western and upland regions in the neighbourhood of Vallam and though an iron industry seems to have existed in olden days, no such industry now exists [4]. Vallam also is well-known for its Vallam stones the chief varieties of which are the pellucid rock crystal, the dark brown or smoky quartz, the yellow cairngorm and amethyst [4]. These are cut by the lapidaries of Tanjore into a variety of ornaments and trinkets, beads and spectacle lenses. [5] There too are found pebbles of quartz and qaurtizite embedded in Cuddalore sandstones which are generally somewhat brittle, but the better quality of which can be used with advantage in ball mills to grind materials that would not be affected by contamination with silica.[6] Laterite of good quality occurs at Vallam and Gandarvakottai in the Tanjore taluk. When first extracted, it is a flaky ferruginous sandy clay, rather friable, but when exposed for some months to the action of the sun and rain, it hardens and gets encrusted with a dark polish of hydrated oxide of iron which protects it from further change

[1] Tanjore District Manual, Vol. I, pages 10–28.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. 1, 1915, pages 6–7.

[2] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80, Mineral sources of Madras, 1951, page 12.

[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 7.

[4] *Idem*, page 7.

[5] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80. Mineral sources of Madras, 1951, page 118.

[6] *Idem*, page 19.

and resists decay, however long the stone may be exposed[1]. Sandstones occur near Vallam and Tanjore [2], but the building stone industry here as elsewhere is unfortunately still run on the basis of individual effort, except when the Public Works Department take to quarrying and even then because of the lack of systematic effort quarrying is done on primitive lines. If quarrying is done on up-to-date lines, there seems to be no reason why these stones cannot be made more use of for public as well as private purposes [3]. Kankar occurs in varying thickness from 3 to 10 feet in fairly large patches to the south of Alakkudi railway station (10° 47′ : 79° 4′) and west, south-west of Tanjore town in the villages of Tirumalaisamudram and Marudakkudi and Kalivirayanpettai. It is high in lime and low in magnesia and is at present being used for lime burning. Its available quantity is estimated at more than half a million tons.[4]

More important perhaps is peat, or it may be, lignite, which occurs at a spot near the promontory about 20 miles from Point Calimere. Here, where the ground was not more than eight or ten feet above the sea level, Mr. Nelson, the Sub-Collector of Tanjore, found in 1828, at a depth of 17 feet beneath the surface, " a stratum of dark-coloured clay full of vegetable remains in which the bark and branches of the trees are distinctly visible ". He thought it was lignite and reported that he had dug through a depth of five feet without passing through its thickness. He supposed that " the mineral occurs all along that part of the coast for an extent, perhaps, 30 miles ". Nothing, however, came of this discovery, as the Board of Revenue considered that any boring in that area was likely to be costly, since water was met with at a few feet depth from the surface [5]. This mineral awaits further investigation and exploitation. Another mineral which equally waits investigation and exploitation is natural gas which occurs at Neyapattur (11° 13′ : 79° 48′ 30″) about 7 miles east of Sirkali. Two bore holes put down here for artesian water in 1914 gave off much gas and in 1945 when an ordinary well was constructed close to this spot, gas began to bubble through the water in the well. Although this gas can very well be used for heating or for driving gas engines, no use has been made of it [6]; nor has any attempt been made to explore the

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 8.

[2] *Idem*, page 8.

[3] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80. Mineral Resources of Madras, 1951, page 40.

[4] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80. Mineral Resources of Madras, 1951, page 40.

[5] Studies in Madras Administration, Vol. II, 1949 (for official use only), page 291.
Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80. Mineral Resources of Madras, 1951, page 162.

[6] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80. Mineral Resources of Madras, 1951, pages 250–251.

extent of its occurrence. Besides this a titanium mineral, ilmenite, which can be used for making good quality steel and for manufacturing a high grade, opaque, non-corrosive paint called titanium white, is found along a 2 mile stretch of the coast of Tranquebar north of Ariyaman (9° 7′ 30″ :79° 4′) and in an area extending from Tirumullaivasal (11° 14′ : 79° 50′) southwards to Kanayampattanam for a distance of 1½ miles. Small patches of it are also seen between Mimisal (9° 55′ : 79° 8′ 30″) and Adirampattinam and on the coastal sand dunes near Nagapattinam [1]. Zircon, a high grade refractory mineral, which can be used for making super-refractory bricks, crucibles, retorts and plastic products, occurs as a constituent of the heavy sands usually from 2 to 5 per cent along the sea coast of Tranquebar. The grains of this sand are usually colourless and transparent but sometimes exhibit zoning[2]. Beds of yellow ochre spread over small areas west of Vallam and deposits of soda occur on the Tiruchirappalli border south of the Cauvery [3].

The district is blessed with a healthy climate, with an annual averge rainfall of 45 to 46 inches, which is rather higher than in adjoining districts and an average maximum temperature of about 90°F. and an average minimum temperature of 76° to 77°F. The maximum temperature reaches rarely over 105°F. and the minimum touches even 60°F. The south-west monsoon sets in May or June and continues more or less till September, but the rainfall during this monsoon is very much lower than the rainfall during the north-east monsoon. The north-east monsoon sets in October or November and continues more or less till January. During this monsoon the rainfall is more continuous and more copious, but it is well to note that Tanjore is benefited more by the south-west than by the north-east monsoon, that though the local rainfall of the south-west monsoon is less, its heavy rainfall on the western ghats invariably causes freshes in the Cauvery and this helps greatly the vast wet cultivation of the delta area.

The following table shows the average annual rainfall and the average number of rainy days in a year [4] :—

Taluk.	*Average annual rainfall in inches.*	*Number of rainy days in a year.*
Sirkali	53·80	56.0
Mayuram	50·81	54·7
Kumbakonam	42·94	52·0

[1] Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. 80. Mineral Resources of Madras, 1951, page 286.
[2] *Idem*, page 292.
[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 8.
[4] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, 1953, pages 2–3. Tanjore District Manual, Vol. I, page 41, et seq.

Taluk.	*Average annual rainfall in inches.*	*Number of rainy days in a year.*
Tanjore	36·81	48·1
Papanasam	42·18	50·7
Nannilam	48·18	53·5
Mannargudi	44·86	55·8
Nagapattinam	55·44	54·3
Pattukkottai	39·66	52·5
Tiruturaipundi	50·06	54·5
Arantangi	35·33	53·5

Turning to changes in temperature, in June when hot winds prevail and the rivers have not yet received their full supply, the heat becomes not a little trying, but, after this, when freshes occur in the river and occasional showers of the south-west monsoon begin, the temperature cools down gradually till October. Thereafter, with the setting of the north-east monsoon the temperature rapidly begins to fall till December when it reaches the minimum. The atmosphere continues to cool till about the end of January. In February and the early parts of March the weather becomes moderately warm during the day, though still cool at nights and a heavy dew falls, but with the latter part of March the hot season commences. The temperatures referred to here being those recorded at Nagapattinam are probably lower than those experienced in the inland regions in the non-delta country. As the delta spreads, the increased width of the irrigated land causes more evaporation and this makes the country cooler towards the sea. However, the [illegible] of Vallam is perhaps the pleasantest part [illegible] air here is drier and the level higher; the [illegible] on the other hand, is naturally close [illegible] very humid.

As to the wind, the south-west current sets in during April, is strongest in June and continues till September. In October it dies away but at the beginning of November, when the north-east monsoon sets in, it begins to blow afresh, though not with the strength of the other current, till January. It then drops and by the end of March veers round through the south-east to the south-west again.[2]

These normal seasonal conditions are now and again disturbed by floods and cyclones. The district is well-known for these calamities. Even in the Chola days it was called Punal Nadu, the land of floods, and it was mostly to prevent the havoc of floods that the Chola Kings constructed the Grand Anicut and raised the bunds of the Cauvery. It is also to prevent the havoc of floods that the Public Works Department has, as

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 8–9.
[2] *Idem*, page 9.

will be shown later, undertaken several special measures. Sometimes these floods are accompanied by heavy rains and cyclones, but at other times they come almost unawares, suddenly, caused by the freshes in the Cauvery on the West Coast.

During the last hundred years the district has suffered from the ravages of several floods and cyclones. In March 1853 Tanjore was visited by a cyclone and heavy floods. The Cauvery brought immense quantities of water, which swelled still further by the heavy local rainfall, burst her banks in many places. For some days water stood four or five feet over the high roads, destroyed all paddy that had just been reaped, drowned 75,000 cattle and 100,000 goats and sheep, damaged over 41,000 houses and ruined over three million fruit trees. So great was the distress of the people that the Government were compelled to make large remissions and to undertake famine relief works. Within a few years, in April 1859, a cyclone accompanied by floods breached river banks, destroyed houses and wrecked no less than thirty vessels at sea between Tranquebar and Point Calimere. In November 1871 another cyclone hit Tranquebar, damaged houses and trees and blew off the roof of the Nagapattinam Railway Station. In July 1874 a flood came suddenly and water at the Upper Anicut rose to a great height but, as the banks of all the rivers had just then been repaired, failed to cause much damage. In November 1880, however, owing to heavy rains a devastating flood occurred, leading to breaches of rivers throughout the delta, destroying hundreds of h[illegible] [illegible]eeping away even whole villages and causing "a [illegible] collapse of the whole delta irrigation sc[illegible] flood followed in July 1882 owing to t[illegible] rains in M[illegible] and the Nilgiris ; it led to numerous breaches of banks of the Cauvery and her branches, but it did not cause much damage as it came in the early part of the cultivation season. But in November 1884 a serious flood breached all the rivers in the eastern parts of the district, submerged a number of villages for days and even weeks together, did extensive damage to crops, trees and houses, especially in the Tiruturaipundi taluk, and made it necessary for the Government to grant remissions of land revenue to the extent of about six lakhs of rupees. And close on its heels, cholera prowled along and literally decimated the population of several villages. The last century witnessed also the floods of 1887, 1891, 1896, [illegible] and 1900. Of these floods, that of 1891 caused by a tremendous downpour of rain towards the end of November, 25 inches in forty-eight hours in some parts of the Pattukkottai taluk, proved the most serious. It swept away most tracts of the country from Tanjore town to the sea and washed away about half a mile of the railway line near Nidamangalam.[1]

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915 pages 149–153.

In the present century the most serious floods occurred in 1924, 1930 and 1939; but between 1930 and 1940 several floods came and harassed the district. In July 1924, as a result of heavy rains in the Western Ghats, vast volumes of water rushed down the Cauvery, caused serious breaches in her as well as in the Arasalar, the Tirumalaranjan, the Virasolan and the Coleroon, damaged irrigation works and communications, dislocated railway traffic for about a month, washed away about 6,000 houses, destroyed crops in about 8,500 acres and silted up and rendered uncultivable about 4,000 acres of wet land. Coracles, boats and catamarans had to be used in rescue work. The rescue and relief works were undertaken by several non-official agencies like the Ramakrishna Mission, the Servants of India Society, the Young Men's Christian Association and others who contributed much by gifts of provisions, clothes and building materials and purchase of new house-sites for the homeless. The Government too remitted four lakhs of rupees in land revenue. The floods of 1930 came in October-November accompanied by heavy rains and a cyclone. A sudden rise in the Cauvery led to many breaches in the river and her branches and hundreds of irrigation tanks gave way. The Tanjore, Papanasam, Nannilam, Mannargudi, Tiruturaipundi and Nagapattinam taluks suffered most. Though only a few lives were lost, there was considerable loss of livestock and damage to houses and crops. About 800 acres of wet land were silted up, standing crops on 100,000 acres were ruined and many irrigation tanks were seriously damaged. The railway, road and telegraphic communications too were very much affected and dislocated. The Government had to grant remissions of revenue and to give loans for purchase of seed and cattle[1]. Before the district could recover from these floods, another flood caused by heavy rains came in December 1931. It affected Tiruturaipundi, Mannargudi, Mayuram, Nannilam and Sirkali taluks causing breaches chiefly in the Vennar system in many places. The disaster would have been greater but for the fact that the Cauvery was not in flood, and that it was possible to seal her up at the headworks.[2] The very next year, in November 1932, the floods visited the district again and inflicted damage chiefly in the Tiruturaipundi and the Mayuram taluks.[3] In November 1935 a cyclone accompanied by heavy rains swept over the Tiruturaipundi, Arantangi and Pattukkottai taluks and damaged the irrigation channels in the lower reaches of the delta.[4] In November 1937 another flood

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, pages 191–194.
[2] G.O. No. 1316, Public Works and Labour, dated 26th June 1932.
G.O. No. 470, Revenue, dated 25th February 1932.
G.O. No. 760, Revenue, dated 4th April 1932.
[3] G.O. No. 156, Revenue, dated 25th January 1933.
G.O. No. 241, Public Works and Labour, dated 30th January 1933.
[4] G.O. No. 234, Public Works and Labour, dated 30th January 1936.

affected the Mannargudi, Nannilam, Sirkali and Mayuram taluks.[1] But it was in November 1939 that owing to heavy rains a very serious flood occurred. It breached the Vennar, the Vadavar and the Grand Anicut Canal, washed away the railway line in many places, flooded the Tanjore town, caused considerable damage in the Tanjore, Papanasam and Pattukkottai taluks and seriously affected the Mannargudi taluk. The loss of life was not much but there was much loss of cattle and much destruction of houses. The Government granted about one and a half lakhs of rupees of remission of land revenue.[2] In November 1940 there was once more heavy rain and once more a flood in the Nagapattinam, Nannilam, Sirkali, Pattukkottai and Tiruturaipundi taluks;[3] but it did not cause much damage. Between 1941 and 1950, the year with which this book closes, there were no serious floods or cyclones.

While the district is subject to periodical floods and cyclones, it is singularly free from famines. This immunity from famines is to be attributed to the unfailing supply of water brought down by the Cauvery from the Western Ghats and to the excellent system of irrigation provided by her numerous branches and channels. Even during the Great Famine of 1876–1878 cultivation hardly suffered and the people hardly felt the horrors of famine. What little distress prevailed in the district was due to the influx of destitute persons who came from other places; and it was for these persons that some famine relief works were opened.[4] In fact, the district can always be depended upon to produce large quantities of grain surplus to its requirements which can be utilized for tiding over periods of scarcity in other districts. It will be remembered that during the great food scarcity produced everywhere by the World War II, Tanjore helped not a little in alleviating the distress caused by the serious shortage of rice in this State.

There is nothing peculiar in the flora of Tanjore. Here grow all the trees and plants that are usually found on the East Coast of this State. The mango, the coconut and the tamarind are everywhere most plentiful. The jack grows commonly in the Tanjore, Mannargudi and Pattukkottai taluks; the palmyra and the cashew are seen mostly in the Tanjore taluk; the *nagai* fruit tree appears on the Vallam table-land; while all along the avenues of the roadside are to be found the various kinds of figs, the tamarind, the

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[1] G.O. No. 133, Revenue, dated 17th January 1938.
[2] G.O. No. 3288, Revenue, dated 7th December 1939.
G.O. No. 3301, Revenue, dated 8th December 1939.
G.O. No. 59, Revenue, dated 9th January 1940.
[3] G.O. No. 2925, Revenue, dated 26th November 1940.
G.O. No. 148, Revenue, dated 22nd January 1941.
[4] Gazetteer of the Tanjore district, Vol. I, 1915, pages 148–149.

margosa and the portia trees. Bamboos are common in the delta area and plentiful in the Nannilam and Kumbakonam taluks. Besides this, in the numerous topes planted by rich landholders we come across most kinds of fruit trees, including illuppai. Owing, however, to the almost entire absence of woods or forests, the district is woefully deficient in supply of timber of superior quality, and for this it is dependant on imports from other districts and from Burma.[1]

Nor is there anything peculiar in the fauna of Tanjore. As is to be expected, from the absence of hills and forests the district is singularly free from wild animals such as tigers, cheetahs or panthers. In the small belt of jungle at Kodikkadu at Point Calimere, spotted deer, antelopes and wild pigs are met with and these constitute the only game of the larger sort. Jackals and foxes, however, exist everywhere, mongoose are not uncommon, jungle cats are plentiful and civet cats are occasionally met with in thickets and woody places. The ordinary grey monkeys abound in many places, but the monkey with the black face and a darker body with a fringe of hair round the face, a short hairy natural cap on the head and a long tail, is found mostly in wooded parts. Ponies of small size but possessing much endurance are bred in small numbers near Point Calimere and are allowed to run wild in the jungle. There being little or no pasture ground, the cattle bred in the district are, as a rule, diminutive and poor looking and the better varieties of cattle, carriage bullocks, as well as cows and buffaloes for milk, are imported from the districts of Coimbatore, South Arcot, Salem and Tiruchirappalli and from Nellore and Mysore. Want of pasture also accounts for the small number and poor quality of sheep; the black sheep with the woolly fleece is specially rare. Pigs are reared by the Oddars for food.[2]

Of birds, the usual South Indian species occur here. The most common are the crow, the kite, the vulture, the owl, the sparrow, the green paroquet, and the Indian cuckoo. Duck, snipe, teal, quail and partridge are all met with but not in large numbers. The snakes of the district too do not differ from those found in the neighbouring districts. The only poisonous species are the cobra, the krait, the chain viper and the carpet snake.[3]

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[1] Tanjore District Manual, Vol. I, pages 55–56.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 9–10.
Notes on some of the Markets for Madras Timbers, 1930, pages 33–34, 47–49.

[2] Tanjore District Manual, Vol. I, pages 104–105.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 10–11.

[3] Tanjore District Manual, Vol. I, pages 106–107.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 11–12.

Fishing has been common all along the coast and in the estuaries and rivers from very ancient times. Besides the usual varieties of sea fish, the flying fish, the kola are caught on the coast; the nair and the seer fish are caught in the estuaries; the catala, the Indian carp, the gourami, the etroplus, and the Bengal carps, the rohu and the mirgal are found in abundance in the Cauvery reservoir and in the rivers; and the hilsa occurs in the Coleroon. The construction of the Mettur dam and the formation of the reservoir have, by stopping the annual floods of the Coleroon, led to a considerable diminution of fish in that river, but several steps are now being taken to set right the position.[1]

[1] Fisheries in Madras State, 1951, pages 30–31.
Madras Fisheries Bulletin, No. XV, 1922, page 100.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY.

The Tanjore country was for more than a thousand years the home of the Chōḷas. From the dawn of history down to the end of the thirteenth century, the Chōḷas made it the seat of their dominions, the heart of all their activities, alike in war and in peace. Here were conceived the plans that carried their arms in the hey-day of their glory from Cape Comorin to the Ganges; and here also were, under their patronage, cultivated fine arts, erected temples, constructed anicuts and built ports and cities that were the envy of both the East and the West.

The origin of the name Chōḷa is wrapped in obscurity. Some are inclined to make it, like Pandya and Chera, the name of a ruling family of immemorial antiquity. Others attempt to connect the word with the Sanskrit Kala (black) and with Kola which meant the black coloured pre-Aryan population of South India. Others again derive the word from the Tamil word "Cholam" (Millet) or the Sanskrit word "Chora" (thief). Whatever the origin this much is clear, that the name Chōḷa was from the earliest times used to denote the people as well as the country subject to the sway of the Chōḷa dynasty of Kings.[1] This Chōḷa country comprised the modern districts of Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli.

The earliest references to the Chōḷa Kings are to be found in the Asokan inscriptions of 260 B.C., but there is nothing to show, as is sometimes supposed, that either Asoka or his successors subdued them.[2] The Mahavamsa of Ceylon records the conquest of Ceylon in the middle of the second century B.C. by a Chōḷa named Elara who is said to have ruled it for nearly half a century.[3] The Chōḷa kingdom was known to the Greek geographers and is mentioned in the Periplus Maris Erythraei (about 70 A.D.) and by Ptolemy (140),[4] who states that the capital was then at Uraiyur which is now a suburb of Tiruchirappalli.[5] The Grammarian Katyayana likewise knew

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[1] The Cōḷas by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, page 24. Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, page 154.

[2] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 26–28.

[3] *Idem*, pages 33–35. The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934, page 187.

[4] The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, page 162.

[5] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 29–32. Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 14.

about the Chōḷas.[1] But for the early history of the Chōḷas no source is more precious than the early Tamil literature, called the Sangam literature, which belongs to the first few centuries of the Christian era. The Sangam literature, like other old poetic literatures, is full of myths and hyperboles and pays little or no attention to chronology. But, all the same, it is to that literature that we must turn to get a more or less authentic picture of the early Chōḷa kings and their times.[2]

Amidst all the Chōḷa kings who find a place in the Sangam literature, Karikala and Koccengan stand out as the most prominent. Karikala who is easily the greatest of the Chōḷa kings of the Sangam age was the son of Ilanjetcenni, who was well-known as the possessor of numerous beautiful war chariots.[3] He seems to have derived the name "the man with the charred leg" from a fire accident in his youth. His accession was by no means peaceful; he was assailed, imprisoned and deprived of his birth-right by his enemies who were probably his own relations. But he soon broke the bonds of imprisonment, regained his throne, and waged several successful wars against his neighbours. He fought a great battle at Venni, a village 15 miles to the east of Tanjore, with Pandya and Chera rulers, and inflicting upon them a signal defeat, secured for himself the hegemony over them. By this bold stroke, he crushed at once all internal opposition and made himself a complete master of the country. It was in the battle referred to above that the Chera king was wounded in the back and starved himself to death rather than outlive the dishonor. Karikala, we are told, defeated also a confederacy of nine minor chieftains presumably of some of the Naga tribes and Kurumbans. Of his personal life little is known for certain, save that he was a staunch follower of Vedic rites, that he loved the society of women and children, that he took to wife a Velir girl from Nangur and that he had a daughter named Adimandi who married a Chera prince. Of his public life, on the other hand, it is known for certain that he renovated the inland capital of Uraiyur, that he rendered famous, if not actually built, the renowned sea capital Puhar (Kavirippumpattinam), and that he patronised liberally arts and letters. But many a myth has been woven round this ancient hero out of love and reverence. He is said to have raided Ceylon, pushed his arms as far as the Himalayas, gained for himself the alliance of the kings of Vajra, Magadha and Avanti, constructed the grand anicut of the Cauvery with

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, page 26.

[2] *Idem*, page 36. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, pages 11–15.

[3] For the earlier kings whose chronology can be constructed, *see* The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, pages 67–72, 75–81 and 85–98.

the labour of captive kings, conquered Kanchi and established many agrarian colonies in Tondaimandalam.[1]

Karikala was succeeded by two rival kings, Nalangilli who ruled from his capital at Puhar and Nedungilli who ruled from his capital at Uraiyur. The civil war that ensued between them continued till the fall of Nedungilli on the battle-field and became a theme of much lamentation among the court poets and minstrels. In spite of this internecine war, Nalangilli showed himself a patron of letters and a poet of no mean repute.[2] The next Chōḷa king of Uraiyur. Killivalavan, is celebrated in no less than 18 songs sung by 10 different minstrels. He too was a patron of letters and a poet but he is better known as a brave and able warrior. His first brilliant achievement was the seige and capture of Karur, the Chera capital, his next famous action was the victory over Malaiyaman, a chieftain of Maladu on the banks of the Pennar. But he seems to have ultimately met with a severe reverse under the walls of Madurai at the hands of Palaiyan Maran, the Pandya Commander-in-chief, and died at a place called Kulamurram.[3] Another well-known king of Uraiyur was Kopperunjolan, a friend of poets and a poet himself, who, eventually embittered by quarrels with his two sons, committed suicide.[4] A more renowned and more powerful monarch was Perunarkilli. Nothing definite, however, is known of his battles except that they wrought great havoc among his enemies. He was the only one among the sovereigns of the Sangam age who performed the Rajasuya, and it is more than probable that both the Chera and Pandya kings of his time attended this great Yajna. He seems to have evoked the famous benediction of Auvaiyar in which she includes all the three kings and pays him a fine compliment by describing him as a great warrior, a patron of Brahmins and a giver of costly gifts to the needy.[5] But no Chōḷa of the later Sangam age was more brilliant and more illustrious, alike in war and peace, than Koccengan. He is credited with having won several victories over the Cheras. It was he who in the battle of Kalumalam, near Karuvur in the Kongu country, defeated and took captive, the Chera king Kanaikkal Irumporai. It was he who with royal mercy released the same king from captivity at the intercession of the poet Poygai, presumably the famous Poygai Alvar, the great Vaishnava

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I. 1935, pages 36–45. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, Pages 128–131.

[2] *Idem*, pages 45–49. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, pages 141–144.

[3] *Idem*, pages 49–55. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, page 148.

[4] *Idem*, pages 56–59.

[5] *Idem*, Pages 59–60. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, pages 150–151.

devotee. It was he again who extended his sway far beyond the Chōḷa country, who fought at Alunda and Venni and killed in fight the chieftain Valandai Vel. And, above all, it was he who showed an equal zeal for both Saivism and Vaishnavism, built numerous Saivite shrines and temples, including the famous temple of Jambukeswara, and offered worship to Vishnu at Tirunaraiyur. [1]

If the political history of the Sangam age excites our imagination, its social, economic and administrative history compels our admiration. That age exhibits a synthesis of Tamilian and Aryan cultures as much in its literature as in its social and religious customs and ideals. Purists may lament over this fusion of cultures but, life, as we know, always goes on unconcerned weaving a pattern of its own. The people in those days had imbibed much of the mythology and religion of the Aryans without, however, discarding several of their ancient customs and beliefs. The majority were Hindus, but there were also among them Buddhists and Jains. Their pantheon was essentially the pantheon of the Vedas and the Puranas and their ethical concepts essentially the ethical concepts of the Dharmasastras. Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Sarasvati, Rama, Krishna and a host of lesser Aryan gods and goddesses evoked their veneration, but, Murugan, their ancient and favourite deity, evoked their love. [2] They built temples for the Saivite as well as the Vaishnavite gods. They followed the Aryan customs of marriages,.[3] sati,[4] cremation and inhumation, [5] but they also sometimes observed the simpler forms of Tamil marriage,[5] buried the dead with urns [5] and set up "hero stones" on their graves. [6] As to their ethical ideals, they held guests in high honour, regarded the slaughter of a cow, the destruction of a foetus and the killing of a Brahmin as among the most heinous offences and looked upon ingratitude as even a greater sin. They held the waters of the Cauvery sacred, capable even of absolving a woman from the sin of incest, believed in bhutas (ghosts), in the evil eye and in omens and practised divination.[7] Added to this, they, like the Buddhists, had faith in re-incarnation, in Karma, in re-birth, and in fate and they held austerities (tapas) as highly meritorious. [8]

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 63–68. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K, N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, pages 155–156.

[2] *Idem*, pages 115–116.

[3] *Idem*, page 75.

[4] *Idem*, pages 112–113.

[5] *Idem*, page 75.

[6] *Idem*, page 87. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, page 188.

[7] *Idem*, pages 110 111.

[8] *Idem*, pages 116–117.

It is not surprising that a people so much advanced in culture should have attained a considerably high degree of civilization. Neither external foes nor internal dissensions, save for short periods, disturbed the even tenor of their life. Their kings were almost always strong enough to repel invasions and suppress rebellions. Their chief occupation was agriculture. On the broad banks of the Cauvery and its branches they lived in villages cultivating lands that normally offered them abundant harvests. Their rural life is depicted in bold colours by Pattinappalai. In the villages the rice fields yielded golden harvests, the lilies grew in wild profusion in wet patches of land and withered under wreaths of smoke issuing from ovens used in jaggery making, the buffaloes crunched in peace the well-grown ears of corn in one corner, while in another (corner) their young ones rested under the ample shades of trees. The whole country was studded with coconut, date and areca palms and plaintain, all bearing clusters of fruit, while the broad-based sembu (சேம்பு), the tender ginger and the fragrant turmeric grew everywhere in abundance. Amidst these pleasing scenes, bright faced maidens wearing tasteful jewels and innocent looks kept watch over the paddy drying in the open, flinging their delicately curved ear ornaments of gold at the fowl which came to peck at the grain. Hard by on the thresholds of houses little children with jingling anklets on their feet played merrily with three-wheeled carts and shouted at the elders who came to disturb them. [1] It should not, however, be forgotten that side by side with these substantial landholders, these Vellalars, there lived also in huts amidst squalor the agricultural labourers, the Kadaisiyars, "the last classes" on the land, who did not differ much from slaves in their status. [2] Nor should it be forgotton that agriculture was not the only occupation of the people in the villages. Spinning and weaving of cotton, and perhaps also silk, formed an important subsidiary occupation of both men and women. Literature tells us that the finest cloth was manufactured by expert weavers of marvellous dexterity and that the weaving of complex patterns on cloth and silk, including fine floral designs, was not uncommon. Uraiyur was a great centre of the trade in cotton stuffs. [3]

While the villages presented on the whole a picture of tranquillity, the towns bustled with scenes of high life and commercial activity. Here were to be found the king's officials, the tax gatherers, the foreign traders and the rich merchants who dealt in corn, gems, gold, corals, pearls, cotton and silk. Mingling with them, jostling, crowding and trying to make

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 76–77.
[2] *Idem*, page 106.
[3] *Idem*, pages 107–108.

a tolerable living were to be seen the weavers, jewellers, blacksmiths, braziers, coppersmiths, carpenters, tailors, cobblers, sellers of meat and toddy and a whole host of pleasure givers and pleasure seekers, writers, poets, actors, bards, minstrels, buffoons, courtesans, dancing girls, vendors of scented pastes and flowers, soldiers, sailors and travellers from foreign parts.[1] The richer classes here lived in houses built of brick and mortar, the walls of which were often decorated with paintings of divine figures and scenes from animal life. Several of these houses were surrounded by pleasure gardens studded with tanks, artificial hillocks, bowers of flower plants and glass houses[2]. In Puhar were to be witnessed big bazaars and many tall mansions surrounded by platforms reached by ladders. These mansions had several apartments provided with doorways, great and small, and long corridors and wide verandahs. The ground floors of these mansions were presumably used for godowns and offices for business transactions, while the upper floors were used as dwellings. For, from the upper floors of these, we are told, well-dressed damsels wearing glittering jewels looked down with palms joined in salutation, whenever Muruga was taken out in procession through the bazaar.[3] Indeed, the life of the richer classes seems to have been spiced with frequent feasts, drinking parties and dance and music parties. Of the life of the poor, we know practically nothing, save that the fishermen of Puhar living in huts on the wide sand dunes often held jousts of wrestling and duelling on moonlight nights and that they feasted on such occasions on toddy, boiled fish and boiled turtle in the company of their dark women "clad in green leaves", while their children played about catching crabs and making dolls of sand on the beach.[4]

Puhar was the centre of foreign trade, the port at which the prosperous Yavanas (Greeks) and other foreigners had their own quarters.[5] It was also the port from which the Cholas controlled "the largest and most extensive Indian shipping" of the Coromandel Coast.[6] It was from here that the foreigners exported cotton, silk and other indigenous commodities and articles of manufacture. It was also from here that the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea was directed by the Chola merchants. Here were to be seen light coasting boats for local traffic, larger vessels of greater carrying capacity, as also the big ocean-going ships that made voyages to Arabia, to the Ganges, to Malaya, to Java and Sumatra and even to Indo-China[7]. The whole place bristled with masts and

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 96–99.
[2] *Idem*, pages 93–94.
[3] *Idem*, pages 96–97.
[4] *Idem*, pages 94–96.
[5] *Idem*, pages 96–99.
[6] *Idem*, page 103.
[7] *Idem*, pages 103–105.

flags of various colours and designs, and the ships brought into Puhar a variety of merchandise, glass and metalware, horses of noble gait from Arabia and elsewhere, and bags full of black pepper, gems, gold, sandal, pearl and coral [1].

The form of the government of the country was doubtless a hereditary monarchy under which the king exercised autocratic powers. In theory he was not only the sole guardian of the land, the protector of the people from dangers external as well as internal, but the custodian of the entire universal order. He claimed descent from the Sun, and on his righteous rule " rested the penance of the sage, the purity of the wife, nay the very course of the seasons." But in practice he behaved in a manner which shows unmistakably that he knew his own limitations ; he invariably employed spies to gauge public opinion and took the advice of his minister and elders who accompanied him and who were expected to give him their honest advice fearlessly on all occasions. Nor was the king, simply because he was supreme, expected to ride rough shod over the will of the people ; he was enjoined to avoid oppression and misrule which, if committed, were sure to bring ruin not only upon his subjects but also upon himself [2]. In administering the general affairs of the realm and especially justice, he was assisted at the capital by a Sabha or " Manram." It was at this Sabha that the sons of Malaiyaman were tried and sentenced and subsequently released at the intercession of Kovur Kilar [3]. It may be stated here that prisons [4] existed in those days and that even captive kings were perhaps imprisoned in them. In rural areas each village had a manram which generally met under the shade of a big tree to transact local affairs [5].

The chief sources of royal income were land revenue and customs. The land was measured in mas and velis, but there is nothing to show what share of the produce was appropriated by the king [6]. The customs duties were, like the land revenue, collected by the king's officials and judging by the large amount of trade that was carried on at Puhar, it may be supposed that the customs duties must have formed a considerable share of the royal revenue. The customs officials, it is said, " guarded the property of the good king " and collected duties daily " untiring like the horses yoked to the chariot ". Whatever the season, fair or foul, they were to be seen bustling about, checking the goods imported and stamping the royal seal upon them [7].

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 97, 99–100.
[2] *Idem*, pages 77–81.
[3] *Idem*, pages 83–84.
[4] *Idem*, page 86.
[5] *Idem*, pages 84–85.
[6] *Idem*, page 85.
[7] *Idem*, pages 85–86.

The army of the king was well equipped and such of its captains as had distinguished themselves bore the title of Enadi and Kavidi conferred upon them by the king himself at a formal investiture ceremony. In lieu of salary these officers held feudal estates and sometimes became petty rulers. The king as the head of the army often took the field in person and delighted to rejoice with the common soldiers in their successes. The nobles and princes rode on elephants, the commanders drove in chariots, the soldiers, infantry and cavalry alike, marched wearing leather sandals and the sword, the lance and the war drum completed the picture of a marching army. It would also appear that women of the higher orders sometimes accompanied their husbands to the field [1].

The king held the first rank not only in the Government and the army but also in society. He patronised literature and fine arts and gathered around him all the nobles and all the brilliant poets and writers. He often took pleasure in giving them lavish entertainments. On these occasions music and dances were special attractions, but the greatest attractions if we are to trust the poets, were the strong intoxicating liquors and toddy served in golden goblets by beautiful women tastefully decked in all their finery and the sumptuous and delicate dishes of meat, vegetables, and sweets[2]. However that may be, it must be remarked here that literature, especially poetry, flourished under the early Chōḷa rulers, that both men and women of different classes ranked among its votaries and that their poems, mostly the shorter ones, are full of life and colour abounding, as they do, in eloquent expressions of physical as well as spiritual experiences. "The short poem, the long ode, the dramatic epic and the religious lyric were all known and in the Kural of Tiruvalluvar we have a work that transcends the limitations of time and space [3]." Music and dancing too attained a considerable development in those days as is evident from the celebrated canto, the Arangerrukadai of the Silappadikaram, which gives a full account of the theatre and the dance and of the music and the musical instruments. Experts like Madhavi who entertained the elite of the society knew both the desi and the marga styles of music while ordinary musicians and the minstrels, who perhaps had only a smattering of both, plied the people with popular folk songs. It is clear that the musicians knew the lute, the flute, the vinai and the yal [4].

Such was the history of Tanjore during the Sangam age under the early Chōḷas. From the close of this luminous epoch

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Volume I, 1935, pages 86 and 88. The Chronology of the Early Tamils by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, 1932, pages 195–196.

[2] *Idem*, pages 88–89.

[3] *Idem*, pages 90–91.

[4] *Idem*, pages 92–93.

in the third century A.D. upto the middle of the ninth century a sudden darkness sets over Tanjore which it is impossible to light up, except fitfully, with the aid of literature or epigraphy. From what little we can make out the country seems to have been overrun by the Kalabhras (Kannadigas ?), by the Pallavas from the north and by the Pandyas from the south and the Chōḷa rulers seem to have been consigned to a position of complete subjection. Although some of the Chōḷa princes seem to have remained at Uraiyur, others seem to have dispersed in all directions to places like Kodumbalur (in Pudukottai), Sirkali and Renadu. We gather that the Chōḷas set up a new dynasty at Renadu (a tract lying along the Kunderu river in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts) and that Huen Tsang passed through this country in 639–640. In Tanjore, in their own country, they bent low before every storm that passed over them, finding. however, suitable matches for their children in the hope of gaining, if possible, political influence and assisting in every way the Hindu revival by lending their whole-hearted support to the apostles of Vaishnavism and Saivism alike.

The Kalabhras seem to have been the first to gain control over Tanjore and their chieftain Achuta, a Buddhist, is reported to have kept in confinement all the three Tamil kings, the Chōḷa, the Pandya and the Chera. But his glory was short-lived. The Pallava King Simhavishnu (575–600) soon came and conquered the Chōḷa country and he and his successors Mahendra Varman (600–630) and Narasimhavarman (630–660) continued to hold possession of it, in parts at any rate, till the Chōḷas of the Vijayalaya line appeared on the scene in the ninth century. Meanwhile, strenuous efforts were made by successive Pandya kings to extend their dominion in the north and to wrest Tanjore from the Pallavas. It is said that the Pandya king Arikesari Maravarman defeated Pallavamalla (730–795) in several battles, that his successor Jatila Parantaka gained a victory over the Pallavas, that Varaguna Maharaja (810–840) conquered them and pushed his arms through Tiruchirappalli and Tanjore to the South Arcot district and that, Varaguna's son, Srivallabha (840–862) routed them and earned the name of Pallava-bhanjana[1].

Then came the swift downfall of the Pandyas as well as the Pallavas. For, a new star was now rising in the firmament of South India. The Chōḷas were once more becoming a mighty race of rulers. Vijayalaya (850–870), the founder of the new Chōḷa dynasty, drove away the Muttaraiyar Chieftains from Tanjore and assisted the Pallava King Nripatunga to stem the tide of the Pandyan overlordship and his son, Aditya I, assisted Nripatunga's son, Aparajita, in dealing a

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 118–129.

crushing blow to the Pandyas. In the famous battle of Sri Purambiam, Aparajita, with the aid of Aditya I and a Ganga King, Prithvipati I, won a signal victory over Varaguna II, son of Sri Vallabha. Varaguna died in this battle and with him died also the Pandya hegemony over the Chōḷa country. Nor did the Pallava rule in the Chōḷa country last long. Aditya I (871–907) very soon overthrew Aparajita and expelled him not only from the Chōḷa country but also from Tondainad, his own country. He then subjugated the Western Gangas, married a Pallava Princess and, after being crowned at Tanjore, conquered the Kongu country (in Mysore) from the Western Gangas and the Pandyas and formed friendly relations with the Chera King, Sthanu Ravi. He, like his father, was an ardent Saivite and he is credited with having built temples all along the banks of the Cauvery from Sahyadri to the sea. He died at Tondainad near Kalahasti where a temple was erected over his remains by his son Parantaka [1].

Parantaka I (907–955) was a more powerful ruler and under his leadership the Chōḷas acquired a dominion which foreshadowed the greater empires of Rajaraja and Kulottunga. When he ascended the throne, his kingdom embraced the country lying between Madras and Kalahasti in the north and the Cauvery in the south with the exception of the Mysore tableland and the west coast. He immediately set about extending his kingdom. He put an end to the Pandyan independence by conquering Madurai and chasing away the Pandya king first to Ceylon and then to Kerala. He even invaded Ceylon but without success. He then turned his attention to the north. Here he had to face an invasion by Rashtrakuta Krishna II who espoused the cause of his daughter's son Kannaradeva who was excluded from the Chōḷa throne by Parantaka's accession. Krishna II was aided by the Banas and Vaidumbas and Parantaka by Ganga Prithivipati II. Krishna suffered a severe defeat in the battle of Vallala (Tiruvallam 915 A.D.). Parantaka now assumed the title of Vira Chōḷa[2]. As a result of this battle, he got from the Banas the country situated to the north of the Palar between Punganur in the west and Kalahasti in the east and over this territory he appointed Prithivipati II as Governor with the title of Banaditya. From the Vaidumbas he got the country near Kurnool. The defeated rulers naturally sought refuge with the Rashtrakutas while he carried on his conquests up to Nellore which was then being ruled by the Eastern Chalukyas. But great conquests always produce great repercussions and the repercussions produced by his conquests eventually lost him all his prestige and most of his

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 130–141.
[2] History of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1955, page 238.

conquests. All his enemies rallied round the powerful Rashtrakuta King, Krishna III, and this king marched with a formidable force from the north-west and inflicted a great defeat upon his forces at Takkolam near Arkonam (949). His eldest son Rajaditya lost his life in this battle and he himself did not survive this battle long although before his death he perhaps succeeded in recovering part of the territories lost by him. Then followed a period of obscurity for about four decades until the accession of Rajaraja I in 985. During this period, the Chōḷa kings, Gandaraditya, Arinjaya, Parantaka II, Sundara Chōḷa, Aditya II and Uttama Chola Madhurantaka seem to have put up a stiff fight against the Rashtrakutas and the Pandyas and finally recovered much of their lost possessions.[1]

With the rise of Rajaraja I (985–1014), the son of Parantaka II, the sky begins to clear and the day dawns on a new and brilliant chapter in the history of the Chōḷas. Alike in war and peace, Rajaraja and his son Rajendra showed themselves as the most outstanding personalities of their time. Starting from small beginnings, for when he ascended the throne the country had hardly recovered from the disastrous effects of the Rashtrakuta invasion, Rajaraja rapidly pushed himself to the forefront by a succession of splendid victories. He conquered Kerala (the Chera country) and made it a part of his dominion. He conquered Madurai and the whole of the Pandya country and added that too to his dominion. He conquered Malainadu (Coorg), and placed all the western countries that he had subdued under the overlordship of his son Rajendra. He conquered the northern part of Ceylon with the aid of his powerful navy, destroyed Anuradhapura, its ancient capital, drove its king to the mountains, founded a new capital at Polonnaruwa and left there, as a beautiful and lasting memorial, the little temple of Siva Devala. He conquered almost the whole of the present Mysore State and the Bellary district from the Gangas and the Nolambas and annexed them to his dominion. Nor was this all. He launched a successful war against the Western Chalukyas (then ruled by Satyasraya) in which his son Rajendra is said to have carried fire and sword into Donur (Bijapur district). He interfered in a civil war that had broken out among the Eastern Chalukyas, took up the cause of Saktivarman and Vimaladitya, the sons of Dhanarnava, the king of Vengi, restored the former to his ancestral throne and gave the latter his daughter Kundavai[2] in marriage and by these masterful strokes virtually converted Vengi into a protectorate. And he closed his rule by winning

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 142–198.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 21–22; Vol. II, 1933, page 158.
[2] Eastern Chalukyas by N. Venkataramanayya (1951), pages 206–211.

a signal naval victory over the Cheras, by conquering the Maldives.

This great conqueror was also a great statesman and administrator. He endeavoured his best to establish his empire on a firm footing. He created a standing army, headed by able commanders and feudatories, capable of extending his dominions from the Tungabhadra in the north to Ceylon in the south and of withstanding all external aggression and internal rebellion. He built a navy capable of carrying his victories to Ceylon and to the Maldives. He organized a civil service capable of consolidating all his conquests and restoring peace and order in all his dominions. He set up a centralized bureaucratic machinery both at the headquarters and in the districts, a system of survey and assessment of lands and a system of audit and control of village assemblies and quasi-public corporations. But it was in the religious sphere that he left a lasting monument of his greatness to posterity. With a colossal effort, parallelled only by the ancient Egyptian kings, he built the most magnificent temple of Rajarajesvara at Tanjore, the finest specimen of Tamil architecture. Remarkable alike for its stupendous proportions and for its bold simplicity of design, it is to this day a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. He covered the temple of Siva at Chidambaram with pure gold brought from all the regions subdued by the power of his own arm. Though himself an ardent follower of Siva, he, like all great men of India, showed a broad tolerance to all religions ; he encouraged his subjects to build temples not only to Siva but also to Vishnu and the Buddha and liberally endowed them with grants of land and money. It is a sad circumstance that, while we have so much information about his achievements, we have no information about his personality. We have no authentic description of him left by any one, not even a statue or a painting. But we learn that he bore a great affection for his sister, that he married several wives and that he showed kindness to his relations and respect to his elders. And we may very well judge from all that he did that he was as brave as he was able, as masterful as he was skilful, and as broadminded as he was pious and religious.[1]

Rajaraja was succeeded by his son Rajendra I (1014–1044) who, it is clear, had jointly ruled with his father for some years before his accession. He had the advantage of possessing an empire which had already been organized on sound lines. He set about at once to improve its organization and increase its glory. Within a few years of his accession, he appointed his son Rajadhiraja as a joint ruler and several

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 198–230.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 22–25 ; Vol. II, pages 158–159.

princes of the royal blood as viceroys in the various parts of his far-flung empire. They were to attend to both civil and military affairs, maintain public peace and repel invasions. But the maintenance of public peace was no easy matter. It was not to be expected that the several crowned heads whom Rajaraja dethroned or defeated would quietly submit to the rule of his son. Rajendra seems to have felt the smouldering discontent in the Western Chalukya country, in Ceylon, and in the Chera and the Pandya countries. It is this that explains his punitive expeditions to those countries.

His first campaigns were directed against the Western Chalukyas. He marched with a large army against their king Satyasraya and conquered Idituraínadu (Raichur district), Vanavasi, Kollippakai (Kulpak in Hyderabad) and Malkhed, the very capital of the Chalukyas. Thence he came south, crossed the sea to Ceylon, reduced the whole island to subjection, ransacked it, captured its king and returned with the captive king and a great quantity of gems and royal ornaments. He set up a Chōḷa rule in that island during which many Hindu temples of Siva and Vishnu were constructed there. Soon after this, he turned his attention nearer home and, after crushing all opposition in the Chera and Pandya countries, appointed over them one of his sons as his Viceroy. He then led another successful campaign against the Western Chalukyas, this time in the Ratta country (Bellary district). But greater than all these campaigns was the expedition which he sent under one of his generals to the north in search of the Ganges. After crossing many streams by making the elephants serve as bridges across them, this intrepid general seems to have taken Sakkarakottam in the Vengi country, defeated Indraratha, the king of Orissa, and pushed through Kosala and Eastern Bengal and reached the Ganges. On his return journey with the sacred waters, he was met by Rajendra on the banks of the Godavari. In honour of this great expedition, he assumed the title of Gangai-Konda Chōḷa and set up a new capital called Gangapur (Tiruchirappalli district) and built in it a magnificent palace and an equally magnificent Siva temple. But his most glorious expedition was that to Kadaram. Recent research has clearly revealed that it was an expedition not to Burma as was originally supposed, but to Kedah in the Malay Peninsula and that during its course he subjugated several cities and islands in the Malay Peninsula and the Eastern Archipelago. This expedition, more than anything else, shows the great naval strength of the Cholas. Its cause is not known; it might have been launched simply to add lustre to the Chōḷa crown or to remove obstacles to Chōla commerce with the east, a commerce which was then at its meridian. Whatever that may be, its object was not

to make the conquered countries a part of the Chōḷa empire, for nothing was done to retain them permanently.[1]

Rajendra I was succeeded by four rulers, Rajadhiraja, Rajendra II, Virarajendra and Adhirajendra, all of whom amidst much storm and stress tried their outmost to preserve intact their vast empire. The truth is, the Chōḷa empire had become too vast to be effectually governed from Tanjore, while its enemies had become too stubborn to be effectually kept under subjection. Even when he had jointly ruled with his father, Rajadhiraja had enjoyed hardly any peace. He had suppressed a conspiracy of the Cheras and the Pandyas and in the fighting that had resulted the Chera king had been ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant and the Pandya king (Sundara Pandya) who had organized the conspiracy had been driven out bare-headed with dishevelled hair in panic. He had attacked the Western Chalukyas led by their king Somesvara Ahavamalla (Someswara I) and burnt and ransacked their palace at Kampili (Bellary district). And, what is more, he had led an expedition to Ceylon, taken stern measures to put down a rebellion and beheaded its king. But even after he had become the sole ruler, he found no prospects of peace. The rebellion in Ceylon raised its head again, and, despite his strenous efforts, he lost the south-east portion of the island (Rohana) to king Vikkambahu. Matters became worse when the Western Chalukyas began to interfere in the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas who were under Chōḷa protection. Rajadhiraja found it necessary to take the field against Someswara. In the fierce battle of Kuppam that ensued, Rajadhiraja was killed; but just at this juncture when everything looked dark, his younger brother Rajendra who was also fighting from behind suddenly rushed forward, rallied his forces and launched a spirited attack against the Chalukyas which sent them flying in all directions. Rajendra II is said to have thence pressed on to Kollapuram on the banks of the Tungabhadra and planted there a jayasthamba before he returned to his capital, Gangapuri. All this, however, secured only a brief respite; for, Somesvara I, anxious, as it is said, to wipe out the disgrace that had befallen him at Kuppam, soon gathered a powerful force and advanced to the south. Rajendra II, ably assisted by Virarajendra and an equally powerful force, met him at Kudal Sangam (at the junction of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna), defeated him in a decisive action and drove him again in disgrace. Soon afterwards when Rajendra II died and was succeeded by Virarajendra, Someswara I once more invited the Chōḷa king to meet him at Kudal Sangam. Virarajendra greatly pleased set out for the fight and anxiously

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 231–282. Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 25–26; Vol. II, page 159.

awaited him at Kudal Sangam for one full month beyond the date fixed for the meeting. But Someswara I, it is said, failed to turn up and "hid himself in the western ocean", while Virarajendra carried his campaign into the Chalukyan country and set up a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra. From there Virarajendra proceeded to Vengi, the Eastern Chalukyan country, and finding that the whole of Vengi had fallen into the hands of the Western Chalukyas, he reconquered it by fighting the battle of Vijayavada. During the closing years of his reign he suppressed a rising in Ceylon and compelled the new Chalukyan king Someswara II to part with half of his dominions to his younger brother Vikramaditya VI. He also, it is stated, gave his daughter in marriage to Vikramaditya VI. On the death of Virarajendra the succession was disputed and the heir Adhirajendra succeeded to the throne only by the help of his brother-in-law Vikramaditya VI. Adhirajendra's reign was, however, brief and with his murder which took place in a rebellion, supposed to have been brought about by the persecution of the famous Vaishnava teacher, Sri Ramanuja, the direct Chōḷa line, became extinct.[1]

The Chola throne now passed to a new line, the Eastern Chalukyan line, which put new life into the whole old frame of the distracted empire. Rajendra Kulottunga (1070–1120) or Kulottunga I who now ascended the throne was a remarkable personality. A son of the Eastern Chalukyan king Rajaraja (1022–1062) and of Ammangadevi, daughter of the Chōḷa king Rajendra (1014–1044), he had in early life, it is said, become a favourite of his grandfather. But fate had willed that he should suffer for a time. On his father's death, he had been supplanted by his uncle Vijayaditya VII at Vengi and he had been forced to take refuge in the Chōḷa country. But even in adversity he had proved himself valiant. He had accompanied Virarajendra on his expedition to Sakkarakottam (Bustar) and through his help regained his ancestral throne of Vengi. But now the same fate that had made him suffer made him suddenly great. The rebellion in Tanjore gave him an opportunity; he made peace with his uncle, Vijayaditya, marched speedily to the south and was instantly acclaimed as a deliverer by the Chōḷas.

Kulottunga I was more a statesman than a warrior. During his long reign he shunned all needless wars and showed no ambition to extend his empire; he even lost some of its outposts. But by consummate diplomacy dashed with not a little military ability he consolidated what remained and gave it, on the whole, the blessings of peace. As soon as he ascended the throne, the Chalukyan king, Vikramaditya VI, who saw with much alarm the union of the Vengi with the Chōḷa

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. I, 1935, pages 290–337. Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 26–29, Vol. II, page 159.

country, invaded Kolar with a large army. But Kulottunga induced Someswara II to attack him from behind, while he himself attacked him from the front, and in the fighting that took place routed him and conquered considerable parts of the Mysore country (Gangamandalam) and over-ran Konkan and the Kannada countries on the west coast. Yet, subsequently, when the Hoysalas of Mysore rose in revolt, he considered it prudent to withdraw from that country which it was becoming impossible for him to retain without much expenditure of blood and money. He soon saw Ceylon slipping away from his hands under the persistent rebellions of Vijayabahu, its dispossessed ruler. He tried diplomacy to retain it, if possible, by winning over several of the ex-king's commanders and inciting a civil war. But when this civil war proved unsuccessful, he left the island to its fate and refused to send any costly expeditions for its reconquest. So far as the Chōḷa empire proper in South India is concerned, however, he parted with not a jot of its territory. With persistent efforts he reconquered the Chera and Pandya countries, which had become hotbeds of intrigue and declared their independence, and reduced them to complete subjection. That they might not again prove troublesome he established a series of military outposts in them all along important military routes, and appointed as their commanders, his most trusted feudatories. When his uncle who ruled over the Vengi country died, he appointed his own sons as Viceroys in that country and when parts of that country were invaded by the king of Kalinga he sent out two expeditions against Kalinga and not only recovered Vengi but also conquered the southern parts of Kalinga. Yet, when towards the close of his rule the Western Chalukya, King Vikramaditya VI assailed Gangavadi (Mysore) and he found it impossible to retain it against odds, he allowed it to be taken by the Chalukyas. All this time he did everything in his power to increase the prestige of his empire. He sent a trade embassy to China, received a trade embassy from Kedaram (Malay Peninsula) and established friendly relations with the northern Indian states like Kanauj and Kamboja. Bereft of Ceylon and Gangavadi the Chōḷa empire, when he left it to his successor, covered one compact area of Tamil land. And over this empire he must have had the satisfaction of having more or less ruled in peace for nearly half a century.[1]

The wisdom of Kulottunga's policy of lopping off all turbulent non-Tamilian parts of his empire ensured peace for another half a century. From 1120 to 1163 three Chōḷa kings succeeded him, Vikramachola (1120–1135), Kulottunga II (1136–1150) and Rajaraja II (1151–1163); and under all

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol I, 1935, pages 338–358; Volume II, 1937, pages 1–60.

Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 29–30.

Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi by N. Venkataramanayya (1951), Chapter XXII, pages 249–278.

these rulers no wars or invasions distracted the country. All the same, some parts of the old empire were recovered in Vengi and Mysore mostly, it would seem, by skilful negotiations with the local chieftains. These kings appointed a large number of feudatories to administer their outlying districts and frequently went on royal tours from their capital at Gangapuram or Gangaikondacholapuram, to the various parts of their dominions. They also took a great delight in renovating and beautifying the great temple of Nataraja at Chidambaram. Vikramachola made large gifts of revenue to that temple to meet the cost of its extensive repairs. Kulottunga II made even larger gifts to the same temple, constructed its gopurams and covered, it is said, many parts of it with gold. Nor is this all. During the reigns of Kulottunga II and Rajaraja II, Tamil literature was fostered and the kings as well as their vassals patronised literary men like Ottakkuttan, Sekkilar and Kamban. Peace reigned every where and the country enjoyed prosperity except during the famine of 1125 which rather severely affected many parts of North Arcot and South Arcot districts and some parts of Tanjore district. But peace has its own dangers no less than war. The numerous feudatories upon whom the kings relied for governing the empire gradually became more and more independent, though they nominally recognized the suzerainty of the king. The monarchy, in fact, lost much of its prestige, the central Government much of its autocracy, but the local Government, the village system of administration with its autonomous local assemblies, seems to have gone on unaffected by the change.[1]

The centrifugal tendencies appeared more pronounced during the reigns of Rajadhiraja II (1163–1178) and Kulottunga III (1179–1216). Rajadhiraja saw a virulent civil war breaking out in the Pandya country and this war, after a tortuous course, suddenly swamped the Chōḷa country and ended in making his successors vassals of the Pandyas. The outbreak of this civil war is by itself a strong indication of the growing power of the Chōḷa vassals. In this war the Singhalese strongly supported one claimant, Parakrama and when he was murdered by his rival they placed his son Vira Pandya on the throne. The Chōḷa king, Rajadhiraja, then intervened on behalf of the other pretender Kulasekhara, drove out the Singhalese and installed his own protege, Kulasekhara, on the throne. Then occurred a swift diplomatic revolution. Kulasekhara made peace with the Singhalese, while Vira Pandya sought the aid of the Chōḷas. Rajadhiraja again intervened and succeeded in installing his own protege, this time, Vira Pandya. Soon afterwards Kulottunga III succeeded to the throne. The new king too found himself faced with the increasing independence of his vassals. The Pandyan civil

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 61–88.

war flared up again after another diplomatic revolution. Vira Pandya, like Kulasekhara before him made peace with the Singhalese, while Vikrama Pandya, a relation of Kulasekhara, sought the aid of the Chōḷas. By two brilliant campaigns Kulottunga drove away the Singhalese protege and for the third time installed the Chōḷa protege. But very soon Vikrama Pandya's son, Jatavarman Kulasekhara, proved truculent, and in order to teach him a lesson Kulottunga led a third campaign in the Pandya country. Meanwhile the Telugu Chodas, who were occupying the Nellore, Cuddapah and South Arcot districts and who were till then Chōḷa vassals, declared independence and this made it necessary for Kulottunga to conquer Kanchi. He is also said to have conquered Karur and parts of Mysore. But all these campaigns and conquests appear only as lightning streaks in a gathering gloom of storm clouds. In the twenty-third and twenty-fourth years of his reign a great famine swept over North Arcot and Tanjore. And towards the close of his reign a greater calamity befel him. The Pandyan throne at this time passed to Maravarman Sundara Pandya and this ruler with a powerful army suddenly struck a sharp blow at Chidambaram and brought Kulottunga to his knees. However, at the strong intercession of Vira Narasimha, the rising Hoysala King, Sundara Pandya allowed Kulottunga to continue to occupy the Chōḷa throne. But Kulottunga soon died in disgrace. Amidst all this gloom stand out in bold relief a few pious monuments of his rule, namely, the magnificent temple of Kampahareswara at Tribhuvanam, rich in sculptured panels and decorative designs and the gopura of goddess Girindraja (Sivakami) in the Chidambaram temple.[1]

These were the last great legacies of a vanishing empire. During the reigns of Rajaraja III (1216–1246) and Rajendra III (1247–1279), the Pandyas in the south and the Hoysalas in the north monopolised all the power, whilst almost all the Chola feudatories virtually declared their independence. It was not to be expected that a dependant power would succeed in holding in leash for any length of time a pack of restless vassals all clamouring for independence. Civil disturbances became the order of the day. And at a time when the utmost tact was needed to guide the ship of state in these stormy waters, Rajaraja showed the utmost foolishness. He cast off Pandya supremacy and began at once a campaign against them. The Pandyas sent him reeling after a pitched battle and while he was in no condition to look after himself, he fell into the hands of a daring adventurer, one of his own disaffected feudatories, Kopperunjinga, a Kadava chieftain, who instantly captured him and kept him prisoner. The Hoysala king, Narasimha,

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 96–172.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 30–32; Volume II, 1933, page 159.
The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934, page 192.

again came to the rescue ; he sent an expedition to the south, punished both Kopperunjinga and the Pandyas and placed once more Rajaraja on the throne. But the times were out of joint, the Chōḷa throne had become precarious. Rajendra III who succeeded Rajaraja III showed some spurts of energy ; he plundered the Pandya country and for a time claimed a sort of suzerainty over it. But the Hoysalas, whose whole object was throughout to acquire an ascendancy in the South, swiftly changed sides and allied themselves with the Pandyas. And when again after the rise of the great warrior king Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (1251) they as quickly changed sides and allied themselves with the Chōḷas, they found that the times had changed completely. For now in a succession of brilliant victories Sundara Pandya pulverised the Chōḷas (1258) and routed the Hoysalas (1264). This marks the end of the Chōḷa rule and the beginning of the Pandyan supremacy. From 1279 we hear nothing about Rajendra or about his successors. Tanjore and the whole Chōḷa Kingdom was now absorbed by the Pandyan empire. A few of the Chōḷa chieftains continue to appear in some inscriptions of the later thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and even up to the middle of the sixteenth century. But they can by no means be regarded as representatives of the Chōḷa monarchy.[1]

During the four centuries that covered the reigns of the various kings from Vijayalaya to Rajendra III, the Chōḷas built up a unique system of government and administration. It was based upon foundations purely Aryan and Dravidian and therefore it was truly national and Indian. It combined the theory propounded in books like the Arthasastra and the Kural with the practice followed during the Sangam Age and the Pallava regime. Its polity cannot be properly described in terms of modern nomenclature ; it was neither a pure autocracy, nor a pure democracy, nor a mixture of both with which we are nowadays familiar. But, if it can be labelled at all with any precision, it can be called an autocracy broadbased on democracy in which the ruler as well as the ruled shared the advantages of both.

The king was the supreme head of the executive, of the judiciary, of the army, of the navy and of the entire civil administration. He was not bound by any acts of any type of legislature-for legislature there was none in those days. Nor was he assisted or guided by even a council of ministers ; recent research seems to show that he had no ministers to advise him. His word was an order, a judgment or a law which none could disregard or disobey with impunity. But

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 172–209.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 32-35; Vol. II, 1933, page 159.
The Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934, pages 192–193.

was on all occasions, whether in the capital or in the camp, assisted by an able bureaucracy of top ranking civil and military officers upon whom he could rely for feeling the pulse of the populace and carrying on efficiently the central as well as the district administration. The officers who were associated with him in the central government were called 'Udan-Kuttan' and they were possibly the heads of various departments. Whenever he gave audience and he gave audience often in royal halls and temples they explained to him orally all petitions and all matters of policy demanding his attention and he gave then and there his verbal orders which were instantly recorded in writing by an officer called the Tirumandira Olai. Copies of these orders were then made out and despatched to the departments concerned for taking action, and the departments in turn sent out copies of these orders to the district or local officers for exhibiting them on the temple walls and carrying them into effect. This highly organized bureaucracy consisted of a hierarchy of officials bearing titles such as 'enadi' and 'marayan' (those who had distinguished themselves in civil and military affairs) 'araiyan' and 'perariyan' (those who occupied very high civil positions) and 'adigarigal' (those who held positions of trust in the army as well as general administration.).[1]

But this bureaucracy, it would appear, was by no means a menace to the people. For normally the king and his bureaucracy took cognizance of only high matters such as those relating to war, diplomacy, the army, the navy and the revenue collection and left all other matters of civil administration, including the administration of justice and police, entirely to the local assemblies. From the famous Uttaramerur and other inscriptions, it is clear that these local assemblies enjoyed complete political autonomy in local affairs. These assemblies were generally of four types, the ur, the sabha (kuri), the nagaram and the nadu. The ur was the ancient Dravidian simple type of assembly which often acted by itself or sometimes acted alongside of the sabha. It was attended by all the male residents of the ur, young and old, though the leading part in its deliberations seems to have been taken by the elders. It had sometimes an executive body called "alunganam" (the ruling group). The sabha was an Aryan institution met with mostly in Brahmin villages. Like the ur it consisted of all the male residents of the village but, unlike the ur, it had a more complex machinery. It functioned alrgely through its committees called "variyams" consisting of the chosen few. These few were chosen by lot for each

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[1] The Cōlas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 213–215, 224, 235–247, 254–256.
Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India by S. K. Aiyangar 1931, pages 252–254.

committee by the members of the sabha from among themselves. The qualifications for membership of the committees were invariably property, learning, skill and ability. The sabha, it would seem, dealt with all general matters, while its committees dealt with all special matters. The sabha in this manner disposed of multifarious matters, such as the administration of civil and criminal justice, the provision of kavalgars (police), the management of temples, the sales of property, the settlement of land and irrigation disputes, the raising of loans, the levying of local cesses like irrigation cess, the collection of land revenue on behalf of the State, the repairing of tanks, the making of roads, the provision of facilities for education, the assaying of gold, in fact all matters affecting the welfare of the people. Sometimes the king's officers attended the meetings of the sabha and its committees to see that the royal interests were not affected. They also periodically audited the accounts of the sabha. But in the whole range of hundreds of inscriptions that have come down to us we find only very few cases in which they interfered in the local affairs dealt with by the sabha. Nor did they interfere in the business of the other assemblies like the nagaram and the nadu. The nagaram was in all probability a primary assembly of merchants confined to the important towns. The nadu was, as its name implies, a territorial assembly of the division consisting possibly of the representatives of the sabhas and urs within the division. It normally discharged all important duties connected with land transactions and charitable endowments.[1] It is thus evident that the local bodies were for all practical purposes completely autonomous in local affairs, while the king was completely autocratic in central and imperial affairs. Both served for the common good and both were restrained from exceeding or misusing their powers in those days not by any public opinion but by something more compelling than public opinion, by custom and religious sanction. Political philosophers may wonder whether this system of government of the Chōḷas might not have achieved as much public good as the modern systems. Whether it suits the modern age or not is a different matter ; but there can be little doubt that it suited admirably the mediaeval age, infusing, as it did, an uncommon vitality into the whole system of the body politic of the Chōḷa empire for more than four centuries. Historians are not a little struck by this vitality revealed in the inscriptions of even the closing period of the Chōḷa rule.

Of the army and the navy that built up the grand edifice of the Chōḷa empire and spread its fame far and wide, even

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 267–313.
Studies in Cōla History and Administration by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1932, pages 73–117.
Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 130–211.

beyond the seas, we have very little information. The three corps upon which the Cholas depended were the elephant corps (anaiyalkal), the cavalry (kudiraiccevagar) and the infantry. They hardly made use of the chariots (chaturanga). The three corps were divided into a number of regiments, such as the regiments of bowmen (villigal), of swordsmen (valperra-kaikkolar), of king's horse body-guards (udanil-kudirai-sevakar), of fort garrisons (andalagattalar), etc. They were all stationed in the towns and cantonments (kadagams) and kept always ready in a state of efficiency. One remarkable feature of the army is that it took a great deal of interest in civil and religious affairs. There are many instances of its commanders building and endowing temples and maths. The navy consisted of ships, great and small, which could command the respect of all the powers in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. But we have no information to show how it was organized. It is, however, more or less evident that the ships which in war time assailed Ceylon, captured the Maldives and the Nicobar islands and launched an expedition to Kadaram (Malaya) were also the ships which in peace time carried on commerce with the various ports from Arabia to Indo-China.[1]

Nor have we any information to show as to how the whole of the empire was organized, under what officers with what powers. All that we know is that the empire was split up into eight or nine provinces called mandalams, that each mandalam was divided into a number of nadus and that each nadu was subdivided into a number of kurrams, i.e., big size villages, and taniyurs, i.e., towns. As to the nature of the central administration, it has already been stated that, so far as judicial administration was concerned, it was left mostly to the sabhas. But in all cases, civil as well as criminal, the aggrieved parties had a right of appeal to the king and the king seems to have decided such appeals in his dharmasana (a temporary Court of Justice) assisted by the opinions of the learned Brahmins versed in the law (dharmasana bhattas). Among crimes, murder, homicide, thefts, adultery and forgery were considered most heinous but even these crimes, if we are to trust the inscriptions, were visited with light punishments alike by the king and the sabhas. The culprits were generally asked either to endow sufficient sums for burning lamps in the nearest temples or to pay specific fines. Even offences against the person of the king or his relations were visited only with the confiscation of property and fines. It is, however, doubtful whether this picture revealed by the inscriptions is complete and accurate. A Chinese writer of the thirteenth century, Chau-Ju-Kua, has given an altogether different picture of the

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 224–234. Hindu Administrative Institutions by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 305–323.

Chōḷa system of justice. He says : " If the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy or up to an hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant."[1]

Turning to taxation, the land was the principal source of the king's revenue. Besides land revenue the king collected a number of taxes, duties, etc., such as customs, octroi, professional tax, fines imposed on offenders, and dues from mines, forests and salt pans. Kulottunga I is said to have remitted all customs and octroi duties, but there is nothing to show that his successors did not collect them. All these taxes, duties, etc., except land revenue, were collected directly by the king's officers ; the land revenue was collected by them through the sabhas. On extraordinary occasions extraordinary contributions were also levied by the king such as the war levy during the Pandyan war in the reign of Parantaka I. These taxes and levies went by various names, but the names were indiscriminately used. The names in use were irai, vari, manarupadu, ayan and dandam. Among specific names were kadamai and kudumai, meaning literally ' duty ' and ' tenancy dues ' respectively, and padi-kaval meaning kavalgar's fees. Land revenue was collected both in kind and in money and non-payment of it was visited with distraint and sale of the defaulter's lands. Remissions were, however, granted for sufficient reasons like floods and famine. Temples were often allowed to commute the land revenue for reduced sums and officers were sometimes rewarded by grants of land on a permanent settlement tenure. It may also be of interest to note here that, whenever the local sabhas found difficulty in collecting the land revenue or local cesses, they obtained the aid of the government for collecting them and that towards the close of the Chola rule the local chieftains imposed fresh taxes which often led to oppression and called for the intervention of the king.[2]

The State seems to have collected about 45 per cent of the gross produce as land revenue, a percentage which is moderate in comparison with the land revenue demand under the Vijayanagar, the Moghul and the early British rule. Communal ownership of the land, as is indicated by the terms sabha-manjikkam, ur-manjikkam, and ur-padu, existed side by side with individual ownership. All land which was not held under communal ownership by the village was either unassessed land belonging to the king or land belonging to peasant proprietors (vellan-vagai), service tenure holders, i.e., inamdars

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 242–266.
Hindu Administrative Institutions by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 247–252.

[2] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 313–349,

(jivita, bhoga, vrtti, etc.) or eleemosynary tenure holders (brahmadeya and devadana). The peasant proprietors held their lands on ryotwari tenure ; service tenure holders held their lands either as tax-free inams or as quit-rent inams or again on feudal tenure as the case may be. In those days officers were in lieu of regular salaries given either assignments of land or lands on service tenure and the important chieftains who were given land on feudal tenure were expected to contribute a stated number of soldiers ready for service whenever required by the king. Of the eleemosynary tenures, brahmadeya lands were those given to Brahmins and devadanam lands were those given to temples. Both these types of land were liable to pay the usual taxes unless expressly exempted. There is evidence to show that a good portion of the various types of lands mentioned above was cultivated by tenants. The system of tenancy was well known and the tenants paid the landlord a fixed melvaram determined in advance and retained as their share what remained after paying the expenses of cultivation and any minor dues assessed on the land.[1]

All lands, whether communal, ryotwari or inams, were periodically surveyed and carefully assessed, from the time of Rajaraja and an accurate up-to-date record of rights—which is a great feat indeed—was maintained in every village. The assessment which was periodically revised was based on a minute classification of land. As many as twelve different tarams (grades) are mentioned in the inscriptions and the rate fixed on each taram naturally depended on its fertility. But the state was not interested in collecting revenue alone. It undertook irrigation works, it raised the bunds of the Cauvery, removed silt from the irrigation tanks and repaired them and took not a little interest in reclaiming forest and waste lands for cultivation. The landholders, on the whole, seem to have been prosperous as is evidenced by their endowments to temples, schools, etc., but the agricultural labourers (pulaiyars) seem to have been in a condition of serfdom bordering on slavery.[2]

International commerce was, it would appear, partly monopolised by the king. He used to send shiploads of merchandise and articles of luxury to distant ports in Arabia, Persia, Ceylon, Malaya and Indo-China. It has already been seen how he sent an embassy to Khedda ; his representatives were said to have been found buying and selling even in Indo-China. But a good portion of international commerce as well as all internal and coastal trade was in the hands of merchants who used to form themselves into guilds and to enjoy exceptional privileges. The king and the

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 325, 337–346, 379–412.

[2] *Idem*, pages 325–328, 363, 380–382.

sabhas offered them facilities by granting lands and houses for residences and warehouses. The guilds in turn showed their gratitude by making endowments for temples and other charitable institutions. One such celebrated guild called Nanadesis engaged in extensive foreign and internaltrade is said to have been in the habit of sending its representatives for selling horses, elephants, precious stones, spices and drugs, wholesale as well as retail, to "the Chera, Chola, Pandya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Sourashtrá, Dhanustra, Nepala, Ekapada, Lambakarna, Stri-Rajya, Ghola-Mukha and many other countries." They often, it is stated, carried their merchandise on the backs of asses and buffaloes "adorned with red trappings" under the protection of their own military guards of foot soldiers and swordsmen. Several instances can be adduced to show that the Cholas carried on a brisk trade in all parts of the country as well as in foreign countries. Among the articles exported to foreign countries, to Arabia, Persia and Indo-China, may be mentioned amber, camphor, elephants' tusks, precious stones, pearls, ivory, ebony, sandal-wood, cotton and linen fabrics and spices. Internal commerce in those days depended mainly on roads and the roads were on the whole well maintained by the government and the local sabhas.[1]

In the field of industries, handloom industry, metal work and jewellery occupied a prominent place under the Cholas. The best of handloom fabrics, silk as well as cotton, went always to the royal palaces, temples and foreign countries, while the rest were sold all over the country by hawkers. We are informed that "excellent napkins" and "linen veils" were exported to Siraf and Kish in the Persian Gulf and cotton fabrics of all sorts and coloured silk threads were exported to Indo-China. Next to handlooms must have figured the manufacture of beautiful images, vessels and other utensils of copper, bronze, brass, silver and gold and all sorts of exquisite ornaments of gold and precious stones and pearls. Here too the best went to the royal palaces and temples and the rest went to the houses of the rich and the well-to-do. Some of these articles, especially the jewels and ornaments, were exported to foreign countries. Besides these, the manufacture of all sorts of perfumes for internal and foreign consumption must have provided a tolerable living for many people; and in that age of temple building and sculpture many people also must have lived comfortably as masons, stone cutters and sculptors.[2]

Among the cities, Tanjore perhaps stood first in the Chōḷa age. It was the capital of the Chōḷa Kings of the Vijayalaya line until the reign of Rajaraja I. It was studded with a number

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 413–442.
[2] *Idem*, pages 414–415, 433–442.

of royal palaces, a large number of stately residences of the royal family and a larger number of busy streets. Here were the big street of Virasola, the big bazaar of Tribhuvanamahadeviyar and the two new important roads running east to west of the whole city known as the northern and the southern talicceris. Here was also the biggest of all temples, the Rajarajeswara temple, the wonder of the age and the monumental work of Rajaraja the Great. The city seems to have grown in size in course of time, for we learn that in the reign of Rajaraja there were two parts of it, the inner (ullalai) and the outer (purambadi). The other attractions of Tanjore were the Jayabhima temple and a hospital attached to a Vishnu temple called after Rajaraja's father Sundarachola-vinnagar atula-salai and endowed by his sister Kundavai. The whole city was surrounded by a fort wall and a deep moat.[1] From the time of Rajendra I, however, the capital was shifted to the new city of Gangapuri. This capital was famous for its vast tank called Chōḷa-gangam, a big bazaar, a big palace and an equally big temple, called Gangaikonda-choleswara temple. Kanchi, too, after the conquest of the Pallava country, became a sort of subsidiary capital in which the kings used to spend part of their time.[2] It is a pity that we can glean nothing from the inscriptions about the other Chōḷa cities and towns.

Of society in general in Chōḷa times, it must be said that caste was the basis of social organization and that all the four castes lived, on the whole, in peace without manifesting any serious symptoms of jealousies and clash of interests. There was as yet no sign of ugly social conflicts between the right and the left hand castes or between the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins. Brahmins lived generally under the patronage of kings and nobles and, although they preferred to live in strong self-regulating groups, they never forgot their duties and obligations to others. Mixed castes such as the Rathakars which included blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stone masons were not uncommon ; nor was heredity a bar to change of occupation. The Brahmins, for instance, sometimes took to trade, but these were exceptions. The women were not subjected to any restraint in their social life and activities, but modesty was considered chief among their graces. Such of them as belonged to the upper classes owned property in their own right and disposed of it as they chose. But the most distinguishing characteristics of the women of the higher classes seem to have been piety, devotion and an ardour for social work. all of which manifested themselves in their making liberal endowments to the temples, maths, schools, etc. It is, indeed, remarkable that even courtesans showered their largesses

[1] The Cōḷas by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 215–218.
[2] *Idem*, pages 215–216.

on temples and that the poor and the downtrodden women instead of taking to streets sought refuge in the temples and became dancing girls, flower girls and temple menials. Monogamy was the rule among the bulk of the people, but polygamy was not infrequent among kings and nobles. Sati was rare and slavery confined largely to women dedicated to the temples or working as domestic slaves in the houses of the rich and the powerful. The condition of the temple slaves and domestic slaves does not seem to have been pitiable. The most pitiable was perhaps the condition of the agricultural labourers who were serfs and who were more or less treated like slaves.[1]

Higher education was received mostly by the upper classes. It was imparted in a number of temples, maths, pallis and viharas scattered throughout the country. These institutions sometimes owned big collections of manuscript literature on a variety of topics and imparted religious as well as secular education. There were also some colleges endowed by kings and nobles for teaching the Vedas, the Mimamsa, the Vyakarana, the Shastras, the Sutras and Medicine. Some of them had a large staff of professors and a very large number of students. The professors, it would appear, were paid in kind as well as in coin and the students were given stipends. But of much more value than all these Sanskrit schools and colleges of which we have inscriptional evidence must have been the Tamil schools, the pial schools and other schools, of which we have no such evidence, but which all the same must undoubtedly have existed. It is these schools that must have turned out the hundreds of singers of Tiruppadigam hymns in the numerous temples and the thousands of clerks, accountants, etc., employed in the offices of the government and the local bodies.[2]

Nothing, however, occupied in society a more important place than the temple. It was the place where the local sabha commonly held its meetings to discuss and decide village affairs. It was the place where all people, young and old, came to worship God, whether Siva, Vishnu, or other deities, and to hear the recitation of the Ramayana, the Mahabharatha and the Puranas. It was the place where all entertainments and festivals, religious as well as secular, and dancing as well as music, were held. It was the place where all those who sought knowledge came and sat at the feet of the learned. It was the place where kings, queens and nobles loved to display their munificence. It was the place where people sought food and shelter in times of scarcity and famine. It was indeed the most magnificent place where

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 350–367.

[2] *Idem*, pages 463–471. Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India by S. K. Aiyangar, 1931, pages 288–305.

riches, beauty, sanctity, worship, learning, fine arts and even mundane things combined to attract all people. No wonder the civilization in mediaeval days grew under the protecting shade of the temple. No wonder also that in so growing it imbibed much of religion.

It may be stated here that religion in those days never produced any bitter sectarian feuds. There is ample evidence to show that, although the king and the bulk of the people were Saivites, they showed a broad tolerance towards Vaishnavites, Jains and Buddhists. They made even liberal endowments to the Vaishnavite temples, Jain Pallis and Buddhist Viharas. As striking instances of their tolerance and broad outlook may be mentioned the worship of Nataraja as well as Govindaraja in the Chidambaram temple and the existence side by side of the Saivite, Vaishnavite, Jain and Buddhist temples and colonies in Kancheepuram. There is nothing to show that the followers of these different faiths created any serious troubles. And when at the time of Adhirajendra, sectarianism raised its head and led to the persecution of Sri Ramanuja, the people even rose in revolt and assassinated the king thereby putting an end to all persecution.[1]

An age of tolerance, of broad outlook on life, is undoubtedly most favourable to literature; and the Chōḷa age which was characterised by these noble qualities is the most creative epoch of South Indian history. The very inscriptions of that age are notable for the highly ornate and poetical prasastis written in Tamil and Sanskrit. It has been said that almost all the prasastis of the Chōḷa kings from the time of Rajaraja I may be classed among the best specimens of Tamil literature exhibiting, as they do, stately diction, easy flow of verse and animated narrative of historical events. Several of the poems of this age have been lost but of what remains, the perungadai by Kongu-Velir is known for its ahaval metre (blank verse) and its chaste, direct and narrative style of poetry; the Jivakasindamani by Tiruttakkadeva dealing with the story of Jivaka, an ideal hero, is counted as the greatest among the mahakavyas of Tamil literature; the Kalingattupparani by the poet laureate Jayagondar of Kulottunga I is considered to be the best of the paranis accessible to us, while the various works of Ottakkuttan who was patronised by the Chōḷa rulers, the Ittiyelupadu, the Eluppelupadu, the Takkayagapparani, etc., stand as a class by themselves. The Nalavenba (the story of Nala) by Pugalendi is well known for its simple and flexible diction and easy flow of language; and the Tiruvilaiyadal Puranam by Perumbarrapputtiyur Nambi is equally well known for its rich store of legends centering round Madurai and its sixty-four miraculous sports of Siva. Above all these

[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 485–491.

authors towered two literary giants, Kamban, the great author of the Ramayana who in his treatment of the epic shows an originality and a depth of experience hardly equalled in Tamil literature, and Sekkilar the equally great author of the Peria Puranam, who in this masterpiece of Tamil literature conveys a graphic picture of the heroic age of Tamil Saivism, suffused with didactic and religious sentiments of the highest order.[1]

The age is no less famous in the field of religious literature. It was in that age that the two celebrated men Nambi Andar Nambi and Nathamuni arranged the Saivite and the Vaishnavite hymns and canons respectively, substantially in the form in which we now find them. It was also in that age that several works on Saivism and Vaishnavism were written. Thus Meykandar then wrote the doctrinal work Siva-Gnana-bodam, Arunandi wrote a similar work Siva-Gnana-Sittiyar, Manavasagan-Gadandar wrote the simplest of all manuals of Saivism Unmai-Vilakkam and Umapati Sivacharya wrote some eight works on Saiva doctrine like Sivappirakasam, Sankarpa-Nirakaranam, etc. Among Vaisnava writers Periya Vaccan Pillai and Nambillai wrote several commentaries on Vaishnavism, but none of these works stand in comparison with the great devotional work Ramanuja-nurrandadi by Ramanuja's disciple, Tiruvarangattu Amudanar. Among works on grammar, rhetoric and lexicography the age produced the Yapparungalam and Yapparungalakkarigai of Amitasagara, the Virasoliyam of Buddhamitra, the Nemnadam of Gunavirapandita, the Nannul of Pavanandi and the Nambiyahapporul of Narakavirajanambi. Among Sanskrit works it produced the Rig-Veda Bhashya of Venkata Madhava.[2]

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[1] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, vol. II, 1937, pages 510–536.
[2] *Idem*, pages 475–480 and 5[illegible]–552.

CHAPTER III.

LATER HISTORY.

When the Chōḷa empire was about to fall into the hands of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (1251–1270), the political chess-board of South India presented a number of independent warring principalities. The Hoysalas under their King Vira Someswara had not only consolidated their position in Mysore but also conquered the Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore districts) and extending their power down to Tiruchirappalli had set up a new capital at Kannanur–Koppam.[1] The Kadava (or the Pallava) chieftain Kopperunjingan had established himself at Sendamangalam and proved a constant thorn at the side alike of the Choōḷs, the Hoysalas and the Pandyas.[2] At the same time the Kakatiyas had, under their ruler Ganapathi, evidently at the instigation of the Telugu-Chodas, conquered Kanchi and continued to hold it despite much opposition from the Tamil rulers.[3] Within a few years of his accession, however, Sundara Pandya practically swept away all these powers and made himself master of the east coast from Cape Comorin to Nellore. He overthrew the Hoysalas, killed Vira Someswara in action, and confined their power to Mysore. He conquered and subjugated the Tanjore country. He attacked Kopperunjingan and forced him to pay tribute to the Pandyas. He assailed Kanchi, killed Ganda-Gopala, its Telugu Choda Chieftain, and captured it; and when this involved a war with Ganapathi, the Kakatiya ruler, and the Telugu Choda rulers of Nellore, he carried the warfare into the Telugu country, inflicted a severe defeat on the Kakatiya forces at Mudagur and pursued them as far as the river Krishna. He then returned to Nellore in triumph and performed his Virabhisheka to celebrate his victory over the Andhras. His wars brought him a vast amount of treasure which he liberally employed in beautifying the temples at Chidambaram and Srirangam, the two famous shrines of Siva and Vishnu. He is said to have performed several tulabhars at Chidambaram and erected "a golden hall" for Lord Nataraja. At Srirangam he is said to have built the shrines of Narasimha and Vishvaksena and covered them with gold. He is also said to have covered the central shrine of the temple with gold,

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[1] Hoysalas in the Tamil Country by K. R. Venkatraman, 1950, pages 15–25.

The Early Muslim Expansion in South India by N. Venkataramanayya, 1942, pages 9–10.

[2] Hoysalas in the Tamil Country by K. R. Venkatraman, 1950, pages 10–16, 27.

[3] The Cōḷas by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II, 1937, pages 203–205.

installed in it a golden image of Vishnu and made large gifts of jewels and ornaments.[1]

He was ably assisted in his conquests and consolidation of territories by two of his co-regents Jatavarman Vira Pandya (1253–1274) and Maravarman Kulasekhara (1268–1311). The latter ruled first with two co-regents, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya and Maravarman Vikrama Pandya, and subsequently with two more co-regents, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya his son born of his wife and Jatavarman Vira Pandya his son born of his concubine. As the latter displayed remarkable ability, Kulasekhara nominated him as his successor and this immediately plunged the whole country into a civil war. Sundara Pandya, greatly incensed at the injustice done to him, murdered his father and promptly crowned himself at Madurai. Vira Pandya instantly attacked him but was taken prisoner in the battle of Talchi. He, however, soon managed to escape and, with the help of his cousin Mannar Perumal, the ruler of Karambatti near Kalul, he not only regained his lost possessions but forced Sundara Pandya to seek safety in flight. His success, as will be seen presently, was however short-lived.[2]

It was when the Pandyan Kingdom was in the throes of civil war that Ala-ud-Din Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, turned his attention to the south. He had already crushed the power of Ramadeva, the Yadava ruler of Devagiri, and Prataparudra, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal and made them zimmis (vassals paying tribute).[3] Religious fervour, the desire for plunder and the distracted state of the country produced by the Pandyan civil war, all combined to prompt him to send an expedition to the south. He summoned the Malik Naib (Malik Kafur) and commanded him to go forth at once to the south to spread the light of Islam and, on the way, to subdue Dvarasamudra. The Malik Naib marched to Devagiri and learnt that Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler of Dvarasamudra, had just then gone on a scouting expedition in the Tamil country with a view to ascertaining how far he could fish in the troubled waters and establish his authority in the south. He therefore quickly marched towards Dvarasamudra. Ballala, however, having heard of this news immediately returned just in time to defend his capital, but finding that defeat was inevitable he surrendered his capital and all his wealth to the Muslims and became their vassal. The Malik Naib then, after collecting a great booty and despatching it to Delhi, descended on the Tamil Kingdom. He put to flight Vira Pandya in a fight on the banks of the Cauvery,

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[1] The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 158–173

[2] *Idem*, pages 174–190, 201–205.

[3] The Early Muslim Expansion in South India by N. Venkataramanayya 1942, pages 13–43.

harried the country, sacked the rich temples and shrines of Marhatpuri and, razing them to the ground, dug up even their foundations to discover hidden treasures, if any. From there he turned to Madurai where Sundara Pandya had taken refuge. Sundara Pandya, however, took to flight and the Malik Naib lost no time in ransacking the city and setting fire to its temple. Just at this juncture the Pandya brothers patched up their quarrels at the dire threat of destruction and under the leadership of Vikrama Pandya, a veteran general who had contributed much to the success of the Pandyan arms in the glorious days of Jatavarman Pandya, gave battle to the Malik Naib, defeated him and thus rolled back the Muslim tide from the south. For, the Malik Naib is said to have left for Delhi soon after this battle (1311 A.D.). Recent research has made it clear that the Malik Naib's campaign amounted to no more than a raid, and that the statements made by the older historians that he subdued the whole of the south down to Rameswaram and that he left a Muslim garrison and a Muslim Governor in Madurai are all baseless.[1]

However, this was but the beginning of the end of the Pandyan empire. For, the moment the common foe turned his back, the Pandyan brothers again started the civil war and invited fresh dangers. Vira Pandya worsted Sundara Pandya and Sundara Pandya fled to Delhi to seek the aid of the Khalji Sultan. There is nothing to show that an expedition was actually sent from Delhi to assist him; but he seems to have, with the consent of the Sultan, collected some Muslim forces from Devagiri and returned to recapture his kingdom. To his dismay, however, he found that the situation had completely changed in the Pandyan kingdom. During his absence, the Chera King, Ravivarma Kulasekhara, had made a lightning attack on that kingdom and conquered it after driving away Vira Pandya. Sundara Pandya and his Muslim forces were, unable to overthrow Ravivarma Kulasekhara. Upon this, Sundara obtained the help of the Kakatiya ruler, Prataparudra, while Vira Pandya patched up his quarrels with Ravivarma and joined forces with him to oppose Sundara. In the battle that was fought the Kakatiya forces defeated Vira Pandya and Kulasekhara and installed Sundara on the Pandyan throne. About the same time a Chola chieftain, Sambuvaraya, declared his independence in North Arcot.[2] And on the top of this there came the second Muslim invasion of South India.

Sultan Qutb-ud-Din actuated probably by the same motives that influenced Ala-ud-Din and prompted also by the

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[1] The Early Muslim Expansion in South India by N. Venkataramanayya, 1942, pages 43–71.
The Pandyan Kingdom by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 205–211.

[2] The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, page 213.

rebellion of Yak Lakhy, the Governor of the Maharashtra country, despatched Khusrau Khan, a veteran general, to the south. The latter after quelling the Maharashtra rebellion came marching to the south like a scourge, plundering the country wherever he went. On his approach all the citizens, it is said, fled with all their valuable belongings. At Pattan, a rich sea port of the Tamil country, he is said to have seized the wealth of even a Muslim merchant and subjected him to indignities. The profusion of wealth that he found everywhere soon turned his head. He plotted to become independent, but his generals detected his treachery and compelled him to march back to Delhi. This expedition also left no permanent impression on the south.[1]

But under the reign of Ghaiyaz-ud-Din Tughluk a more determined effort was made by the Muslims. Soon after the conquest of Warangal (1323) Ulugh Khan, the Sultan's son and heir apparent, marched to the south. The Pandyan kingdom at that time was ruled by Parakrama whose sway extended over Tirunelveli, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tanjore. Ulugh Khan conquered the whole country, took him captive and established a Muslim Governor at Madurai.[2] Under Muhamed-bin-Tughluk, the Muslim arms won even greater laurels in the Deccan. It was during his reign that the Hindu kingdom of Kampili comprising much of the Raichur, Dharwar and Bellary districts was brought under Muslim sway after a heroic struggle by the Hindu ruler Kampila. It was also during his reign that Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler, was reduced to subjection. Ballala, however, managed to propitiate the Sultan of Delhi by readily recognizing his suzerainty and by promptly surrendering to him the Muslim rebel commander, Garshap, who had sought refuge with him.[3]

But at the very height of its prosperity the Muslim empire in the Deccan and South India was caught in a terrific maelstrom. Islam had sown the dragon's teeth ; it had to reap the consequences. The systematic spoliation of temples and the wholesale conversions of Hindus soon produced a violent revolution. Religious sects, militant as well as non-militant, the Pasupatas, the Kapalikas, the Vira Saivas, as well as all Hindus of all milder denominations rose to a man to defend their dharma and to rid the land of the persecutors and the iconoclasts. And they found ready instruments in political leaders like Prolaya and Kapaya Nayakas, the chiefs of the Musunuri family, Vema, the founder of the Reddi Kingdom of Addanki and Kondavidu, Somadeva, the

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[1] The Early Muslim Expansion in South India by N. Venkataramanayya, 1942, pages 91–96.

[2] *Idem*, pages 122–125.

[3] *Idem*, pages 128–148.

ancestor of the Aravidu chiefs, Ballala III, the Hoysala ruler, the Sambuvaraya chieftain, Ekamranatha, and more illustrious than all, Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire. A formidable confederacy of all these rulers and chieftains was formed and everywhere from the Vindhya mountains to Cape Comorin Hinduism was roused to expel Islam. The departure of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak from Devagiri to Delhi (1328–1329 A.D.) lit the torch of liberation and within a few years—by 1344—the Muslim rule in the Deccan and South India was more or less completely wiped out. In this process of revolution and redemption the Muslim Kingdom of Madurai was assailed by the combined forces of Ballala III, Ekamranatha Sambuvaraya and Kapaya Nayaka and was deprived of most of its northern possessions. [1]

The story of the Muslim Kingdom of Madurai, which embraced in its fold large parts, if not the whole, of Tanjore, Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Coimbatore, is by no means clear. However, there is evidence to show that the direct rule of Delhi continued in Madurai till 1334–1335 when Syyid Jalal, one of the Imperial Officers, treacherously slew the Governor and declared himself independent under the title of Jalal-ud-Din Ahasan Shah. His successor Ala-ud-Din Udaiji is said to have been shot by an unknown person. It was about this time that Ballala III, Sambuvaraya and Kapaya Nayaka assailed Madurai. Ballala III seems to have profited not a little by this turmoil ; he is said to have captured large parts of the Tamil districts, including Tanjore, assumed the title of "Emperor of the South" and planted a pillar of victory at Rameswaram. However, very soon, during the reign of the next sultan of Madurai, Ghaiyas–ud–Din Damghani, when Ballala III attacked Madurai he was defeated and, being taken prisoner, was murdered by the Sultan after extorting from him all his wealth. Ghaiyas-ud-Din died soon after, and he was succeeded by his nephew Nasir-ud-Din as the Sultan. Ballala, however, had done his work. It was left to the Vijayanagar Kings to complete it and to re-establish Hindu rule in the South. [2]

On the death of Ballala III, the whole of the Hoysala Kingdom, including Mysore and Tondaimandalam, passed into the hands of the early Vijayanagar Kings. By the middle of the fourteenth century Kumara Kampana, the Vijayanagar general, absorbed all the Muslim territory north of the Cauvery and within another decade the Muslim Kingdom of Madurai was completely destroyed and the entire Tamil country passed

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[1] The Early Muslim Expansion in South India by N. Venkatramanayya, 1942, pages 164–206.

[2] Hoysalas in the Mysore Country by K.R. Venkataraman, 1950, pp. 32–39.

into the hands of the rulers of Vijayanagar.[1] In the reign of Harihara II, Virupaksha, his son, succeeded Kumara Kampana as the governor of the Tamil districts.[2] Then came Devaraya II who extended his sway over Kerala.[3] But soon the sky became cloudy, for in the reign of Mallikarjuna, Gajapati (Kapileswara), the King of Orissa, conquered the coastal Andhra districts of the Vijayanagar Empire and led an expedition into the Tamil districts. This raid, however, though it lowered considerably the prestige of the empire, did not lead to any loss of its territory in the south. Epigraphic evidence, for instance, shows that Mallikarjuna's authority was recognized in the Chingleput district in 1465, and in the South Arcot district in 1466.[4] The prestige was to some extent restored under Virupaksha II when Saluva Narasimha, his Viceroy of Chandragiri, stamped out a rebellion in the Tamil districts. He is said to have routed a Chōḷa ruler and a Pandya king, expelled the Gajapati, and re-established the sovereignty of Vijayanagar.[5] But this was closely followed by the raid of Muhammad Shah Bhamani II, during which he mercilessly sacked the Kancheepuram temple, and although much of the booty he had collected was recovered from him on his return march at Nellore, by one of Saluva Narasimha's generals and restored back to the temple, the empire once more lost much of its prestige.[6] Immadi Narasimha, the next Vijayanagar Emperor, therefore, lost no time in taking effective measures. He despatched an expedition under Narasa Nayaka, the ablest of his generals, in 1496. Narasa Nayaka defeated a Chōḷa ruler, subdued Madurai, visited Rameswaram and on his way back, after re-crossing the Cauvery by means of a bridge improvised for the purpose, reduced Srirangapattinam and from there returned hom in glory by way of Gokarna.[7]

During the reigns of Viranarasimha and Krishnadevaraya, South India remained completely loyal to the Vijayanagar Empire. But on the death of Krishnadevaraya, Viranarasimha Danda Nayaka or Saluva Nayaka (as he was called), who was his viceroy in the south, stirred up a rebellion against Achyutadevaraya, the new Vijayanagar Emperor. Achyutadevaraya, however, defeated him and his allies and marching at the head of his army as far south as the Tambraparni, re-established his authority everywhere. It was at this time

[1] Sources of Vijayanagar History by S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, 1919, page 2. The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 1929, pages 242–244.

[2] Further Sources of Vijayanagar History by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, Vol. I, 1946, page 80.

[3] *Idem*, pages 105–106.

[4] *Idem*, pages 120–122.

[5] *Idem*, pages 127–128.

[6] *Idem*, pages 137–138.

[7] *Idem*, pages 158–176.

that Sevappa, the founder of the Nayaka Kingdom of Tanjore, makes his appearance on the scene. Sevappa had belonged to a family of chieftains who ruled in the North Arcot district with their capital at Nedungunram, some thirty miles north of Tiruvannamalai. He had married Murtimamba, the sister of Tirumalamba, one of the mistresses of Achyutadevaraya. Either because of this connexion or because of his faithfulness, Achyutadevaraya appointed him as the Nayaka of Tanjore. From this time onwards the mists which till now enveloped the whole country begin to clear and the history of Tanjore presents a continuous picture.

Sevappa Nayaka (1532–1560) remained thoroughly loyal to Achyutadevaraya, Sadasivaraya and Tirumala, the Vijayanagar Emperors. His reign which was peaceful was marked by many works of public utility. He repaired the Sivaganga tank at Tanjore and built a feeder tank to it which to this day goes by his name as Seppaneri or Sevappaneri. He repaired several other tanks and founded a number of agraharams. But it was on temples that he, like the other great kings of Tanjore before him, showered his largesses. He built the magnificent gopura of eleven storeys of the Arunachaleswara temple of Tiruvannamalai which is a lasting monument to his glory. He constructed the massive prakaras of the temples at Vriddhachalam and Kancheepuram and covered the vimanas of Tirupati and Srisailam temples with gold. He extended his benefactions to both the Siva and the Vishnu temples situated on either side of the Cauvery. Though a Vaishnavite himself, he, in his attitude and actions, it is clear, made no distinction between Vaishnavism and Saivism. Nor is this all. His broad tolerant outlook is best seen in his relations with the Buddhists, Muslims and Christians. He allotted lands to a Buddhist temple in Kumbakonam, to a mosque in Nanjikkottai and extended his patronage to the Portuguese. He permitted the Portuguese to set up a settlement at Nagapattinam, to build there a fort and two churches, one dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi and the other to Our Lady of Health, and to carry on trade in his dominions. And he crowned his reign by appointing, towards its close, one of the ablest men, Govinda Dikshita, as his minister, who showed himself as a great administrator and served brilliantly his successors.[1]

In 1560 Sevappa Nayaka made over his kingdom to his son Achyutappa Nayaka and spent the rest of his life in performing acts of piety till his death (1580). Achyutappa Nayaka, evidently so named after the Vijayanagar Emperor who founded the Nayakaship of Tanjore, ruled for forty years (1560–1600) exhibiting in himself all the loyalty and religious

[1] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 24–34.

zeal of his father. He set up golden kalasas on the gopuras of the Tiruvannamalai temple built by his father, made gifts of land to the Siva temple at Tiruvadaimarudur, to the Margasahayeswarar temple at Mayuram, to the Tirumalanatha temple at Chidambaram and encouraged others also to do similar acts of piety. It would seem that many people, including his minister Govinda Dikshita, emulated the royal zeal. The most lavish gifts of the king were, however, reserved for the Srirangam temple. Here he constructed the golden vimana of the inmost shrine and here he presented an image of the god with a golden crown studded with precious stones, a jewelled armour and a golden simhasana. Here also he built the gopuras on the east, west and north of the temple along with the eighth prakara and several mantapas. It was here, too, that he performed the great ceremonies of gifts known as tulapurusha and hiranyagarbhadana, every year. This was not all. He is said to have paid annual visits to Rameswaram and built the gopuras of that temple, fed a thousand Brahmins every day and erected the pushyamantapas with steps leading to the Cauvery at Mayuram, Tiruvidaimarudur, Kumbakonam and Tiruvaiyar. He is also said to have made the gift of a village to the famous Madhwa teacher Vijayendra Tirtha Sripada (1574), founded many agraharams and constructed a dam across the Cauvery near Tiruvaiyar with a view to increasing the irrigation facilities of his province.

His rule, however, unlike that of his father, was not one of unbroken peace and tranquillity. During its latter part, he was drawn into the vortex of the Vijayanagar wars and into the machinations of his powerful neighbours, the Nayakas of Madurai and the Portuguese. As is well known, the battle of Rakshasi Tangadi (Talikota) dealt a crushing blow to the might of the Vijayanagar Empire. That empire was set tottering, losing its hold on its vast dominions. While Bijapur and Golkonda harassed it, the Nayaka of Madurai renounced its hegemony and became practically independent. Amidst all this din and clatter, the Nayaka of Tanjore alone stood faithful to the emperor like a rock and did all he could to re-establish the emperor's authority. He co-operated twice, once in 1583 and again in 1595, with Venkata II in subduing the recalcitrant Virappa Nayaka of Madurai. He despatched his son Raghunatha with a large force to Venkata II in 1589 when the Sultan of Golconda invaded the Vijayanagar Empire and laid seige to Penukonda. It is said that on hearing the news of Raghunatha's arrival, the Muslim armies fled in terror into the jungles. Shortly after this, Achyutappa, who was getting old, abdicated the crown on the advice of his minister Govinda Dikshita, in favour of his son Raghunatha. He died in about 1600.

Raghunatha Nayaka (1600–1630) was a man of outstanding abilities. It is said that, when he was a small boy, his grand-

father had predicted that he would become a famous ruler and a famous ruler, indeed, he soon became. Possessing, as he did, a broad forehead, long arms, a broad chest, piercing eyes, pearl-like teeth and long dark moustaches, he was spoken of as a very handsome person. Acquiring, as he did, consummate skill in all military accomplishments in sword-play, shooting and horse-riding, and displaying, as he did, great personal courage coupled with exceptional military abilities, he was more often spoken of as a distinguished general. But he was most often spoken of even more highly as a scholar, an author, a patron of letters and a wise and liberal ruler.

Soon after his accession, he found himself embroiled in a war with the Portuguese. The Portuguese had by then become a formidable power to contend with. They had established a settlement at Nagapattinam, had become rulers of Ceylon (1597), had driven away the King of Jaffna to seek refuge in Tanjore and had gone on making wholesale conversions of Hindus to Christianity. Raghunatha could not remain unconcerned at all this. He espoused the cause of the King of Jaffna and defeated the Portuguese in a fight which took place at Nagapattinam, but this did not affect either their power or their prestige. That was not his only cause for worry. Within a few years, the Vijayanagar Emperor, Venkata II died leaving behind him a succession feud which suddenly flared up into a civil war. Upon his death-bed, Venkata nominated his nephew, Sriranga II Chikkaraya as his successor, but the rights of this nephew were bitterly opposed and contested by Venkata's putative son. Very soon two parties formed themselves. The loyal chieftains, under the banner of Yachama Nayaka, a veteran leader, supported the cause of the nephew, while the disloyal chieftains, under the banner of Gobburi Jaggaraya, the emperor's brother-in-law, supported the cause of the putative son. Raghunatha Nayaka showed no hesitation in siding himself with the loyalists, but he had to be prepared for war. As if this was not enough, he had cause for another worry. For, at this time, an atrocious Solaga chieftain, who was a subordinate of Gingee, inflicted untold misery on the people of Tanjore. Perching himself on an island in the Coleroon near Devikottai and countenanced by the Portuguese and the Nayaka of Gingee, he was in the habit of swooping down upon all innocent wayfarers, forcing them to drink boiling lead, passing needles through their bodies and throwing them for sport into his moat filled with crocodiles.

Matters came to a head towards the close of 1615. It was then that the Portuguese intrigues increased and the King of Jaffna pressed Raghunatha to reinstate him on the throne. It was then that the atrocities of the Solaga caused loud complaints from the people. It was then also that Jaggaraya, having murdered Sriranga II, marched into the Tamil districts for mustering strength for the rebel cause,

while Yachama Nayaka, having rescued Ramadeva, Sriranga's son, came closely pursuing the rebels with a loyalist army ready to give battle to the enemy at the first opportunity. Amidst all this storm and stress, Raghunatha showed remarkable courage, coolness and confidence. Towards the close of 1615 or perhaps the beginning of 1616, he left Tanjore in the able hands of his minister, Govinda Dikshita, crossed the Coleroon, reached Devikottai, and swiftly attacked and captured the Solaga. The Portuguese and the Nayaka of Gingee (Krishnappa) who came to the aid of the Solaga, it is said, fled in terror. From Devikottai, Raghunatha marched along the coast to Kaveripattinam, crossed the Gulf of Mannar on boats, landed at Jaffna and, after inflicting a signal defeat on the Portuguese, reinstated the Jaffna ruler. He then returned victorious to Tanjore only to face and fight out the third danger. For, by this time Yachama Nayaka had arrived with Ramadeva and Jaggaraya had mustered in his camp the Nayakas of Madurai and Gingee and the Chera King, Jaggaraya, it is stated, broke the Cauvery dam to prevent the joining of the forces of Yachama Nayaka and Raghunatha, but this only incensed Raghunatha and made him all the more determined to crush the rebels. Collecting all his forces, marshalling them in an able manner and joining them with those of Yachama Nayaka, Raghunatha fought a decisive battle with his enemies at Toppur and completely routed them (1616). In this battle Jaggaraya was killed and all his allies, including the Nayakas of Madurai and Gingee, were driven away. It is said that after the fighting was over, Raghunatha pardoned the Madurai Nayaka, proclaimed Ramadeva as the Emperor of Karnataka and planted a pillar of victory on the site of the battle-field. The Nayaka of Gingee then made common cause with Yatiraja, the brother of Jaggaraya, and put up another fight, but they were utterly beaten by a regiment sent by Raghunatha. This battle of Toppur, this last great battle of Raghunatha, propped up the Vijayanagar Empire for a time and established his unquestioned authority in the South. The Madurai Nayakas completely cowed by his prowess never gave him any further trouble. But the Portuguese still gave him infinite trouble. They attacked and killed his protege, the ruler of Jaffna, and defeated the attempts made by him in 1620 and 1621 to reconquer Jaffna. It may be stated here that during his reign a Danish Settlement was established at Tranquebar (1620). The Dutch and the English too tried to establish settlements, the former at Tirumalarayanpattinam and the latter at Karaikal but they did not succeed in their attempts.

All this political turmoil, however, failed to affect in the least the extent of his dominions. Epigraphical evidence shows that his supremacy extended not only over the Tanjore district but also over the neighbouring districts. It extended,

at any rate. as far as Tirukkoshtiyur in the Ramanathapuram district, Lalgudi in the Tiruchirappalli district, Govindavadi in the Chingleput district and Narattampundi in the North Arcot district. He seems to have governed these territories through a number of agents, each in charge of a small division. Nor did this political turmoil affect the social, religious and literary activities of his rule. Never perhaps did any monarch show an all-embracing many-sided enthusiasm as Raghunatha. In piety he showed himself as great as, if not greater than, his predecessors. He gave away much wealth to the Brahmins ; he gave away jewels and precious stones to the poor and the disabled ; he gave away whole villages to the temples ; he gave away cows, gold and many other presents by performing the great religious ceremonies called Hiranyagarbha and Tulapurashadana. He founded numerous agraharams in which he settled learned Brahmins well versed in the Vedas. He built the Ramaswamy temple at Kumbakonam, he erected Sri Rama's shrines at Rameswaram and Srirangam, he set up a gopura to the Kumbeswara temple at Kumbakonam and put up additional buildings in the temples of Srinivasasthala (Uppiliyappan Kovil in the Kumbakonam taluk) and Chempesa (Mannargudi). But, if he was a great patron of religion, he was an equally great patron of arts and letters. Himself a renowned scholar, he is said to have composed a number of kavyas, prabhandas and yakshaganas in Sanskrit and Telugu. The most important of his Telugu works are Parijataharanam, Valmikicharitram, Rukminiparinayam, Yakshaganam and Ramayanam ; and the most important of his Sanskrit works are Bharata Sudha and Sangita Sudha, which last, however, he seems to have written in collaboration with his minister Govinda Dikshita. Nor is this all. He was considered an authority on Karnatic music, and he is said to have invented new ragas like Jayantasena and new talas like Ramananda. He is said to have taken a keen interest in drama and theatricals, constructed a theatre in his royal palace and loved to see the plays and farces enacted in it. Above all, he is said to have organized frequent parishads in which learned men and women could compete with one another exhibiting their talents and attainments. It was only natural that such a king should attract towards himself all the scholars and lovers of fine arts. His court became a centre of brilliant men such as Govinda Dikshita, Yagnanarayana Dikshita, Venkatamakhi, Chudamani Dikshita, Bhaskara Dikshita, Kumara Tatacharya and women like Madhuravani and Ramabhadramba. No wonder Kavi Chowdappa, the court vidwan of Matla Anantaraja, who visited it was struck by its wonderful galaxy of talents.[1]

Of all the eminent men of that age Govinda Dikshita was unquestionably the most eminent. A Kannada Brahmin by

[1] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagiri san, 1942, pages 62—112.

birth, he seems to have migrated to Tanjore towards the close of the rule of Sevappa Nayaka, become a royal purohit, a tutor to the prince and very soon by sheer ability risen to the position of Minister. He served Achyutappa and Raghunatha as Minister, so ably, so wisely and so faithfully that posterity has not yet forgotten his memory in Tanjore. Many a village and many a street is still named after him, such as the village of Govindapuram, Govindakudi, Ayyampet and the streets Ayyankadai street in Tanjore and Yagasalai street in Kumbakonam. Many lingas too going under his name, called Dikshitalingas, are still worshipped in the temples of Kumbeswara at Kumbakonam and Panchanadiswara at Thiruvaiyar. And in the little temple of the village called Pattiswaram in the Kumbakonam taluk, there stands a life-like statue of this grand minister. It is, however, impossible to assess his share in the glory that invests the rule of Achyutappa and Raghunatha, but that he had a large share in it is fully evident from literary sources. Both these Nayakas seem to have consulted him on all occasions even on occasions that vitally affected their own interests. It was on his advice that Achyutappa abdicated the throne in favour of Raghunatha; it was on his advice that Raghunatha left the administration of Tanjore in his hands and planned to conquer, as he did, his enemies. Both the Nayakas also seem to have fully trusted him in carrying on impartially the administration of justice in the country. An authority on dharmasastras, he was looked upon as "a permanent court of arbitration." He was, however, not only great as a minister and an administrator but also great as a philosopher, a religious leader and a scholar. A staunch Advaitin, a friend and contemporary of the famous Appaya Dikshita, he is said to have re-established the Advaita school of philosophy of Sri Sankara at Tanjore. But he who propounded Advaita was also he who performed numerous sacrifices as laid down in the sastras, such as Sagnicitya, Agnihotra, Vajapeya and Sarvatomukha. Yagasala street and Yagamantapa are still considered as the places where he performed these sacrifices; and Echchangudi or Ekadasi Agraharam, the village called Mahadanapuram, Mulliakkudi or Dikshita Samudra, and streets called Mahadana streets in the towns of Mayuram, Tiruvadaimarudur and Thiruvaiyar are still considered as the gifts made by him to the Brahmins. He is said to have built sixteen mantapas on the banks of the Mahamakham tank at Kumbakonam and many pushyamantapas at different places such as Thiruvaiyar, Kumbakonam, Tiruvadaimarudur, Tiruvalanjuli and Vriddhachalam. He is said to have devoted equal attention to the cause of education, started the Raja Patasala at Kumbakonam and built and endowed several schools. Himself a Sanskrit scholar, he is said to have written commentaries on the Jaimini Sutras and Kaumarila Darsana. He, however, extended his patronage not

only to Sanskrit but also to Tamil, and it was under his patronage that Thiruvaiyar Mahatmyam was translated into Tamil. His knowledge and love of music is evident from his work Sangita Sudha which he wrote in collaboration with Raghunatha. He is even regarded as the founder of Karnatic Music. He died in 1634 leaving behind him eight sons, of whom two became well known; Yagnanarayana Dikshita, the author of Sahityaratnakara, the Raghunatha Vilasa Nataka and the Alankara Ratnakara, and Venkateswara (Venkatamakhi), the author of Vartikabharanam, Karmanta Vartika, Sangita Samrajya and the celebrated work on music, Chaturdandiprakasika.[1]

A year before the death of Govinda Dikshita, Vijayaraghava Nayaka (1633–1673) succeeded Raghunatha Nayaka. He had neither the military capacity nor the political sagacity of his father. A weak and vacillating ruler, he was called upon to face the strong and determined foes, the Muslims and the Nayaka of Madurai. Any prudent ruler under these circumstances would have endeavoured to patch up all quarrels with Madurai and allied himself wholeheartedly with the Vijayanagar king. But he did neither. He left everything to chance and chance eventually hurled him down the precipice into oblivion.

For the first nine years of his rule, however, he enjoyed peace and showed himself as the worthy successor to his father. He continued the patronage to religion as well as learning. A staunch Vaishnavite, he came under the wing of the great Vaishnavite Scholar, Kumara Tatacharya, whom he made his guru. The Jesuits say how every year in December he used to cause his guru to be carried several times round and round the town in a gorgeous palanquin borne by the ladies of the palace and preceded by another palanquin containing the guru's slippers and how he used to walk himself on these occasions in front of the procession swinging a censer and making repeated obeisances to his spiritual master. He also bore a deep love to Srirangam temple, lavished many gifts upon it, visited it daily for worship and when in later years it became impossible for him to visit it on account of the war with Madurai, he erected a big temple tower in Tanjore so that by climbing its top he could have at least a view of the sacred temple. He fed thousands of Brahmins every day and partook of his food only after they had taken theirs. He made large benefactions to the tutelary god, Rajagopalaswami at Mannargudi, and built the Rajagopalaswami temple at Tanjore. He encouraged learning and literature and gathered at his court some of the brilliant writers and poets. Kamarazu Venkatapathi Somayaji, the author of Vijayaraghava Chandrika, Koneti Dikshita the author of Vijayaraghava Kalyanam,

[1] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 113—124.

Changalra Kalakavi, the author of Rajagopala Vilasam, Purushottama Dikshita, the author of Annadana Natakam, Rangajamma, the author of Ramayana and Bhagavata Saram, Venkatamakki, the author of Chaturdandiprakasika and Kshetragna, the great South Indian musician and composer, all these adorned his court. It is said that he himself was an accomplished Telugu poet and that he took a keen interest in plays and theatricals.

But devotion, learning and literature all failed to give him the necessary strength of mind and when the time came to test his strength of mind, he was found utterly lacking in it. His loyalty to Vijayanagar he continued during the reign of Venkata III, even though at that time Tirumala Nayaka of Madurai showed scant respect to his suzerain. When, however, Sriranga III, the successor of Venkata III, lost all his power and prestige under the hammerings of the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur, and established his headquarters at Vellore, he seems to have fallen in with the Nayakas of Madurai and Gingee and conspired with them to prevent Sriranga's march into their territories. But, when Sriranga actually approached with an army, he changed sides, betrayed his colleagues and made peace with Sriranga. Sriranga then besieged Gingee and would have reduced it but for the fact that Tirumala Nayaka of Madurai, having induced the Sultan of Golkonda to invade the Vijayanagar territories, called Sriranga's attention to the north. Sriranga gained a victory over the Sultan and again proceeded to the south, but this time, it is said, not to punish his vassals but to seek their co-operation for overthrowing the Muslims. Here was an opportunity for Vijayaraghava to sink all enmity and to endeavour to bring back the Nayakas of Madurai and Gingee under the banner of Vijayanagar. But he did nothing towards this end; he left Sriranga who was then pursued by the Muslim forces, to shift for himself in the forests, and very soon, when the Golkonda forces came and besieged Gingee, he remained neutral, a helpless onlooker. Tirumala again flew to the aid of the Nayaka of Gingee, and induced the Sultan of Bijapur to send his forces to the south to attack the forces of Golkonda. All this, however, proved of no avail. The Golkonda forces, it is true, retreated before the Bijapur forces but the Bijapur forces captured Gingee, conquered Madurai and Tanjore and made the Nayakas the tributaries of Bijapur (1646).

The sun was now fast setting on the Vijayanagar Empire. Within a few years that Empire received the death blow. The Bijapur invasion of Mysore (1653) drove Sriranga into the jungles never to return. Vijayaraghava then became independent of Vijayanagar but totally dependent on Bijapur. And now came the time for the Madurai Nayaka to wreak vengeance

upon him for all his infidelities. Muthu Virappa Nayaka threw all subservience to the Muslims to the winds, fortified Tiruchirappalli and made rapid preparations to attack Tanjore. Vijayaraghava became desperate and appealed to the Sultan of Bijapur for aid. The Sultan despatched a large army under Sagosi (Shahaji) and " Mulla ", but this army instead of helping Tanjore attacked it, conquered it and drove away Vijayaraghava into the jungles. Tanjore, Vallam, Mannargudi fell one after another into the hands of the Muslims. But then suddenly an unexpected change came over the scene. Madurai held out, a great famine swept over the country and the Muslim army harassed by the famine and the Kallars was reduced to misery. " Sagosi " and " Mulla " readily showed a disposition to come to terms, collected whatever ransom was forthcoming from Madurai and Tanjore and walked off. Vijayaraghava then instantly walked into Tanjore, but so humbled, so reduced to misery that, it is said, the Kallars who had plundered his treasures during the Muslim invasion, took pity upon him, restored to him part of the treasures and tried to prop up his position. His position, however, was beyond any propping up. Chokkanatha, who had by now succeeded Muthu Virappa in Madurai, attacked Tanjore (1660–1661) and made him his vassal. Then came the Muslim invasion once more. "Vanamian" the Bijapur general laid siege to Tiruchirappalli and Vijayaraghava joined forces with him thinking that he could thereby humble his rival and become independent of Madurai. But Chokkanatha purchased peace after paying a large ransom to the Muslim army, and the moment that army marched away, he marched upon Tanjore and once more reduced Vijayaraghava to subjection. Soon afterwards when Chokkanatha was engaged in the affairs of Ramanathapuram, Vijayaraghava recaptured Vallam, but this only created bitterness between the two. For about ten years from 1664 to 1673 a sort of veiled hostility marked by military preparations characterized their relations. Then came the clash in 1673 when Chokkanatha despatched his commander Dalavay Venkatakrishna against Tanjore. Venkatakrishna captured Vallam and assailed Tanjore. In the fierce battle that ensued, Vijayaraghava retrieved his name and put up a gallant fight, charging at the head of his army. But it was too late. He should have shown such courage in the earlier wars. The odds were now against him. Just before the battle began, he is said to have released his son Mannarudasa from prison (where he had been put for some gross insubordination) and asked him to take charge of the ladies of the family and to blow up the zenana, in case the fight were to go against Tanjore. When the battle took a serious turn, despairing of success, he gave the fatal signal. The zenana was then immediately blown up. He and Mannarudasa now rushed into the thick of the battle and laid down their lives. After this

battle Chokkanatha annexed Tanjore and placed it under his Viceroy Muddalagiri, his half-brother.[1]

A few words may be said here regarding Viraraghava's attitude towards the European nations. His relations with the Dutch were at first hostile. He seems to have sent a force against them, when they captured Nagapattinam from the Portuguese in 1658 ; but when this force was defeated,he seems to have acquiesced in the position. Subsequently, however, he became friendly with them and offered them valuable trade concessions (1658) ; he gave them a charter for the fort and houses and the yards of Nagapattinam along with ten villages on condition of the payment of an annual tribute. The same charter he renewed (1662) for a further term with an additional privilege of setting up their own mint for the coinage of gold, copper and silver, the profits of which he, however, declared were to be shared by them with him. About 1666 he also gave them the port of Trimulipatam (Tirumalai-ranjanpatnam in the Nagapattinam taluk) and some other places in its neighbourhood on a lease for three years for a sum of 2,800 paradoes (Pratapatankas?) on condition that they were neither to fortify the places nor to disembark any merchandise or cloth in those places. He allowed the Danes to carry on their declining trade at Tranquebar, but, it would appear, refused to permit the English (1664) to establish a settlement at Karaikal.[2]

His fall in the battle involved, as has been seen, the fall on the Nayakaship of Tanjore. But loyalty always dies hard and, in the hands of an unscrupulous man, may even become a positive danger. This is what it actually became within a short time of the assumption of office of the viceroy by Alagiri Nayaka. Alagiri, quite unconscious of the danger he was treading upon, allowed himself to be guided by one of his officers, a man named Venkanna, a Niyogi Brahmin who had served as a secretary to Vijayaraghava. This Brahmin was perhaps loyal, but he was also cunning and ambitious. He encouraged Alagiri to become independent of the Nayaka of Madurai and at the same time ferretted out a boy of the late Tanjore Nayaka's family, by name Changamaladas, who had been, ever since the catastrophe that befell Vijayaraghava's family, leading a life of obscurity with his mother in a merchant's family in Nagapattinam. Hastening to Nagapattinam, he caught hold of the boy, made his way straight to Bijapur and requested the Sultan's help to reinstate him, representing him as the lawful heir to the Tanjore throne. The Sultan who knew

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[1] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 125–154, 158–161.

History of the Nayaks of Madurai by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, pages 115–118, 126–135, 150–153, 154–171.

[2] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 154–158.

nothing nor cared to know about anything, saw at once an opportunity for himself and sent an army under his Maharashtra general Ekoji or Vyankoji to assist the boy to recover his throne. Ekoji lost no time in marching to Tanjore, in defeating Alagiri and in reinstating Changamaladas. He was then presented with lavish gifts. This was, however, not the end of the matter. Venkanna who through his loyalty hoped to become the Pradhani and the Dalavay of the new king now found all his hopes frustrated. For, Changamaladas, on the advice of his mother, appointed his protector, the merchant, to those posts. Venkanna, thoroughly disappointed, now became as disloyal as he was previously loyal. He immediately turned to Ekoji and invited him to take possession of Tanjore for himself, and Ekoji emboldened by his support marched on Tanjore, while Changamaladas fled to Arialore and from thence into oblivion. Thus was begun in 1675 the Maharashtra rule of Tanjore.[1]

Here we may pause for a while to give a bird's eye view of the polity and administration of the Nayakas. As may be expected, they took the Vijayanagar polity and administration as their pattern, but they retained whatever elements they considered useful in the Chōḷa polity and administration. In all matters of domestic policy, they were as autocratic as the Chōḷa Kings and the Vijayanagar Emperors. There was nothing to bind their actions except the dharmasastras and the established custom. Nor was there anything to prevent their succession from being hereditary. But in all matters of foreign policy they, unlike the Chōḷa kings, were not free to act as they pleased. They were, in theory at any rate, expected to follow the same policy as was followed by the Vijayanagar Emperors. Being vassals, they were also expected to pay an annual tribute to those Emperors, to send them reinforcements and to follow them in the field whenever called upon to do so.

They adopted the customary practice of the Chōḷa Kings and the Vijayanagar Emperors, that of appointing their sons as co-regents in administration so as to give them a thorough training and sense of responsibility. They copied their daily routine and ceremonials mostly from the Vijayanagar Emperors. They had no Council of Ministers, but they had a council of advisers presided over by the Minister who was called the Pradhani and who, as in the case of Govinda Dikshita, shaped the military as well as the civil conduct of the realm. The powers and influence of the Pradhani were second only to those of the Nayaka. Of the top ranking officers who held important trusts and advised the Nayaka, the Dalavay or the Senapathi was the most important. He was not only the Commander-in-Chief of the army but also the chief technical

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[1] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 162–167. The Maharashtra Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. Subramanian, 1928, pages 11–12.

adviser on all matters of defence and war. Then came the Rayasam or the Chief Secretary, corresponding to the Tirumandira Olai of the Chōḷas. He was the chief administrative officer, the recorder and executor of royal orders, the head of the civil departments of administration. Below the Rayasam was the officer called Attavanai or the Chief Accountant who was the head of the Revenue Department and who, as such, had under him revenue officials called Sampraties and Kanakars (accountants). The last of the officers who had the status of adviser was Toshikhana Adhikari, the head of the bhandaram (treasury). There were also, it would seem, a number of spies working under a responsible officer. None of these officers or their subordinates were paid any regular salaries ; they were, as under the Chōḷa rule, remunerated by gifts of land (manya).

The army of the Nayakas was garrisoned in various forts of strategic importance such as the Vallam fort, the Pandanallur fort, the Arantangi fort, the Pattukkottai fort and the Tirupattur fort. Each fort was under the command of a loyal and trusted captain and all forts were well equipped with weapons of offence and defence. As in the Chōḷa regime the army was chiefly composed of the infantry, the cavalry and the elephantry. The infantry wore armour and helmet and carried long spears, broad swords, bows and arrows and an innovation, agniyantras (guns). The cavalry and the elephantry were well caparisoned and manned by trained soldiers ; the horses were obtained from the Moors (Muslims) from Arabia and the elephants from the Portuguese from Ceylon. There was no regular navy but small ships and junks were used, when necessary, for transporting troops, as for instance, for invading Ceylon.

The civil administration of the country was in the hands of numerous agents who were in charge of small administrative divisions, possibly nadus. They collected all royal dues and taxes. Each nadu was divided into several magans or seemais and each seemai was subdivided into a number of villages called urs or kudis of the Chōḷas or mangalams, gramams, kurichi, etc. The village was the smallest administrative unit and its affairs were probably disposed of by village assemblies. But these assemblies seem to have now become smaller bodies and their powers also seem to have now become circumscribed, and controlled by the village headman, the village kanakan and the village talayari. The administration of justice in the villages was carried on by the village officials themselves with the aid of the learned men and committees of arbitrators. Appeals and important cases relating to social and religious rights were heard and decided by the Nayaka with the help of his council of advisers and learned men specially

summoned for constituting a court, dharmasana. The form of punishment in all cases, except serious crimes, was the imposition of fines. Serious crimes were, however, visited with imprisonment.

The main source of income of the Nayakas, as of the Chola Kings, was land revenue. The entire land was divided into two kinds, namely, the state land (maniyam) and the crown land (manovarti); and land revenue from these lands was collected partly in cash and partly in kind. It would appear that 50 per cent of the gross produce was taken as land revenue. The other sources of income consisted of the fines levied by the courts (dharmasanams), the sea and land customs (karatoras and sunkam); and professional taxes such as the goldsmith's tax and the grazing tax. The collection of revenue was generally rented out to farmers as in the Vijayanagar Empire. Sometimes, however, the revenues were made over to distinguished officers, temples and charitable institutions as under the Chōḷas. A portion of the public revenue was paid as tribute to the Vijayanagar Emperor and the rest was spent over the army, over the palace, and over the maintenance, construction and renovation of temples and public works like irrigation tanks and dams across the Cauvery.

Foreign trade under the Nayakas, unlike the foreign trade under the Chōḷas, was carried on principally by foreign merchants, the Arabs, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Danes. Internal trade was, however, carried on by the Indian merchants. Goods were transported mostly by roads which were not well maintained and which were infested with robbers (Kallars). Exports consisted of fine cotton fabrics of "excellent colour, goodness and cheapness," grain, spices, indigo, saltpetre and drugs. Imports consisted of broadcloth and other woollen stuffs, tin, lead, quicksilver, ivory, coral, gold and silver embroideries, knives, glass, horses and elephants. Agriculture was, of course, the chief occupation of the people, and next to it came weaving and dyeing of cottons which was done with marvellous skill in varied colours. The manufacture of salt was undertaken by the people living in the coastal regions.

The Nayakas, like the Cholas, were great patrons of religion, learning and fine arts. Vaishnavism was as dear to them as Saivism was dear to the Cholas; and like the Cholas, they maintained, enriched and beautified all temples, Vaishnavite as well as Saivite. For, they, like the Cholas, believed that the temple was the very bed-rock upon which the whole Indian civilization rested and that the dharma, the yaga, the yejna and the dana are the very pillars upon which the entire

stability of the social structure depended. But they had a broad tolerant attitude towards all religions. There is not a single instance of persecution of either the Muslims or the Christians under their rule, although they could not, at times, tolerate the wholesale conversions of Hindus carried on by the Portuguese. They treated the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Danes just as they would have treated any other Indian powers. They even gave them special concessions for trading and permitted them to set up settlements in their kingdom. Nor was this all. They encouraged education by making large gifts of land to agraharams, maths and temples which imparted religious as well as secular instruction. They courted learning and fine arts with a fervour truly royal and Indian. They patronised Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu; they patronised poets, playwrights and philosophers; and above all, they patronised music, painting and sculpture.[1]

Ekoji (1676–1683) who usurped the throne and founded the Maharashtra dynasty of Tanjore was by no means a mere adventurer. Son of Shahaji who had carved out for himself a small principality in Mysore and half-brother of Sivaji who was to carve out for himself a splendid Maharashtra empire, he was lacking neither in courage, nor in military ability, nor in solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. He had, it is true, none of the pan-Maharashtra or imperial vision and ambition of Sivaji; he did not see anything beyond the frontiers of Tanjore and its neighbourhood. But Tanjore, his newly won kingdom, he preserved at all costs and at all odds. Before, however, he could settle down and set his home in order, his able but disaffected minister Raghunathapant deserted him, fled to Sivaji and instigated him to lay claim to Tanjore. Sivaji who was evidently waiting for some such opportunity at once made peace with Golkonda, marched to the south, took Gingee and other places from the Bijapur forces, sent a strong detachment to besiege Vellore and, halting at Thiruvaiyar, summoned Ekoji for an interview. His object was no other than that of compelling Ekoji to agree to the partition of his father's possessions. Ekoji at first hesitated but subsequently went to his brother's camp. When the proposal for partition was however put before him, he stoutly resisted it being egged on not to give way, it is said, by the Nayaka of Madurai, the Raja of Mysore and some of his own Muslim commanders. Sivaji thought of making him a prisoner and of compelling him to give up half of Tanjore, of the Mysore jageer districts and of the money and jewels, but on better reflection considering that such a step was "inconsistent with his own character as a brother and a prince" permitted him to return to Tanjore. Sivaji then marched to

[1] The Nayaks of Tanjore by V. Vriddhagirisan, 1942, pages 168–179. Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Series No. 32, 1951, pages 6–19, 33–37.

Vellore, conquered the surrounding country, appointed Santaji to the governorship of Gingee, left a contingent of troops under Raghunathapant and Hamir Rao for his assistance and hastened back to the north to defend his own dominions against the Mughuls. The moment his back was turned, however, Ekoji declared war on Santaji, crossed the Coleroon and inflicted a severe defeat upon his enemy. But this battle brought him no glory, as he and his army, being soon ambushed near Valikondapuram, had to fly back to Tanjore in confusion. Sivaji on his homeward march having learnt this news, wrote two letters of advice and warning to Ekoji deploring the evils of disunion among the Maharashtras and dictating to him the terms of a treaty for the better government of Tanjore. He observed: "I am to you as your head and protection . . . . . . Look to the discipline of your army and turn your attention to affairs of moment. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. This is the time for performing great actions. Arouse! Bestir yourself". The net result of all this was that Ekoji was compelled to pay a large sum of money to pacify his brother and to promise to pay thereafter an annual tribute. After the death of Sivaji, however, Ekoji stopped paying tribute.[1]

When Ekoji was engaged in his war with Santaji, Chokkanatha, the Nayaka of Madurai, led his army into Tanjore, but, instead of attacking Ekoji, when he was returning in confusion after the ambuscade, he opened negotiations with Santaji and thereby let slip an excellent opportunity. Ekoji, however, did not show any resentment against Madurai. When Chokkanatha fell into trouble, when his throne was usurped between 1678 and 1680 by a Muhammadan adventurer, and when, after his reinstatement, his Kingdom was attacked by Kumararaiya, the Mysore General, Ekoji showed no disposition to join his enemies to despoil him. On the other hand, when Chokkanatha in despair appealed for his help, he went to his aid and with the help of Arasumalai, the commander of Gingee, inflicted a signal defeat upon Kumararaiya and captured him. Arasumalai proved treacherous and attacked Tiruchirappalli, but Ekoji never took advantage of his neighbour's difficulty. This worthy deed, this victory over the Mysoreans, is immortalized in a Telugu treatise called Kamakalanidhi. But towards the end of his reign when he saw some chance of enlarging his kingdom, he allied himself with Kilavan, the energetic ruler of Ramanathapuram against Madurai. This man, though a vassal of the Nayaka of Madurai, showed scant

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 16–24. History of the Maharattas by Grant Duff, Third Edition, 1873, page 125. History of the Maratha people by Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. I, 1918, pages 256–260. History of the Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, pages 174–178.

respect to his master and though a rebel himself put down all rebellion in his own land with a thoroughness which spread terror everywhere. Fearing that his dependent, the chieftain of Pudukkottai, was in league with Ekoji, he replaced him without much ado by his brother-in-law and, at the same time, chafing to become independent of Madurai, approached Ekoji for military aid, promising to give him in return all the lands between the Pambar and Pudukkottai. Ekoji agreed to assist him, but soon afterwards, we are informed, made over his kingdom to his son Shahji and retired from all public life. It would appear that there was in him a strain of *vairagya*, a strain which became more marked in his son Shahji[1].

Very little is known about the domestic policy of Ekoji, but what little is known shows him to have been an enlightened ruler. He showed much interest in improving agriculture and encouraging literature. He repaired and constructed canals and tanks and reclaimed waste lands. He is said to have himself composed in Telugu a Dvipada Ramayana, and encouraged others to write Sanskrit and Telugu books[2].

Ekoji had three sons, Shahji (1684-1712), Sarabhoji (1712–1728) and Tukoji (1728–1736), and all these three jointly ruled the kingdom, the first at Tanjore, the second at Sakkottai near Kumbakonam and the third at Mahadevipattinam near Mannargudi.[3] Shahji's attention was first directed to the war against Madurai as an ally of the Kilavan Sethupati. In a decisive battle the Madurai troops were defeated and he claims to have won by this war the countries promised to his father by the Kilavan.[4] His attention was next drawn to the great danger of Mughul invasion. In 1687 the generals of Aurangzeb who had already established authority over Bijapur and Golkonda, it is said, came to the south and after conquering Bangalore forced him to submit to the Mughul yoke and pay tribute.[5] But it was in 1692 that the danger became more pressing; for, in that year, Zulfakar Khan, the military governor of the Carnatic under Aurangzeb, having conquered Gingee swooped on Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli, made Shahji as well as Mangammal, the Nayaki of Madurai, Mughul vassals and exacted tributes from both.[6] Shahji's tribute seems to have been fixed at four lakhs of rupees a year—two lakhs as regular

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[1] History of the Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924, pages 178–183, 198–199.

The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Aiyar, 1928, pages 21–23.

[2] *Idem*, pages 19–22.

[3] *Idem*, page 26.

[4] History of the Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, pages 198–199.

[5] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 42.

[6] History of the Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, page 205.

tribute and two lakhs as darbar charges. It is not clear what other demands were made, but it was largely the failure to pay this tribute that in later times caused trouble between the King of Tanjore and the Nawab of Arcot, the southern representative of the Mughuls.[1] Meanwhile Daud Khan who succeeded Zulfakar Khan as the Foujdar of the Carnatic followed the footsteps of his predecessor and visited Tanjore periodically to collect tribute.[2]

In 1697 Zulfakar Khan is said to have forced Shahji to restore to Mangammal some of the lands he had taken from her.[3] But soon after this Shahji made a raid into Madurai and captured several towns. Mangammal, finding herself utterly insecure so long as he remained a thorn at her side, declared war upon him (1700). Her army crossed the Cauvery, harried Tanjore and inflicted a severe defeat on the Tanjore army. Shahji and all his subjects, taken by surprise and boiling with rage under the insult offered to them, suspected foul play on the part of the chief minister Baloji or Vagoji Pandit, but Baloji by skilful diplomacy and bribery succeeded shortly in negotiating a peace between Tanjore and Madurai. This peace came at an opportune moment, for just at this time the King of Mysore, having constructed a big dam across the Cauvery in Mysore, effectually prevented all water from flowing down the river and caused terror and consternation in Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli. The common calamity immediately led to a common alliance against Mysore. Shahji and Mangammal planned a joint attack ; but before any campaign could be launched, the dam happily gave way before floods and rendered the campaign unnecessary.[4]

The reign of Shahji is notable neither in political conquests nor in military achievements, though it could in some measure boast of both. But it was remarkably notable in literary activities. Himself a scholar and a linguist, he patronised learning and the result was a rich crop of Sanskrit and other literature. Several dramas in Tamil were produced during his reign such as Bhulokadevendra Vilasam, Atirupavathi Kalyanam, Shankaranarayana Kalyanam, Chandrikahasa Vilasa Natakam, Koravanji and Vishnu Saharaja Vilasam ; but they are said to be not of a high order either in plot, or in style or in humour. The only Tamil compositions of merit falling in his reign are the psalms of Thayumanavar which cannot be sung without emotion and ecstasy ; but they are said to be exceptions. Some Telugu works were also produced during his reign, such as Vishnu Saharaja Vilasam, a Tamil drama in Telugu script ; but

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 42.
[2] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Aiyar. 1928, page 27.
[3] History of the Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924, page 205.
[4] *Idem*, pages 210—212.

they too are said to be on a lower level than the works of the Nayaka period. But Sanskrit took the palm in his reign, and of the numerous works in Sanskrit then produced the most noteworthy are Dharmakuta and Stridharma by Tryambaka Raya Makhi, Raghavabhyudhaya Nataka and Mukundavilasa Kavya by Bhagavantaraya, Natesa Vijayam, Sri Ramachandrodaya Kavya, Uttara Champu and Kusalava Vijaya Nataka by Venkatakrishna Dikshitar. Others of equal merit were Janaki Parinaya, Sringaratilakabhana and Shaddarsana Siddhanta Sangraha by Ramabhadra Dikshit, Ratnatulika by Bhaskara Dikshit, Vidya Parinayam and Jivananda by Veda Kavi, Adbhutadarpana Nataka and Sukasandesa by Mahadeva Kavi and Sringaramanjari Shahajiyam by Periyappa Kavi. His reign also witnessed works of compilation of rituals such as Acharanavaneeta by Appa Dikshit. Nor is this all. Being a poet, a musician and a philosopher himself, he encouraged poetry, music and Advaita philosophy. It is said that he who did so much for encouraging fine arts became a yogi towards the end of his life.[1]

There can be little doubt that his sympathies were broad and wide. He created a literary settlement by giving away a whole village to forty of his most notable literary men. This village which was originally called Tiruvisanallur was now named Shahjirajapuram[2]. He collected a large mass of literary manuscripts which are now in the Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore, and of which those on music are pronounced to be " a veritable mine of information " on the theory and practice of Carnatic music[3]. He is said to have improved the palace, erected a beautiful throne room in it, built choultries, chatrams and hospitals and procured physicians even from Hyderabad and Arabia. He is also said to have established civil and criminal courts of justice[4]. Manucci charges him with persecution of Christians and states that he levied a heavy polltax on them ; but in defence of this it is said that he had ample justification for so doing. It is said that in his reign the Portuguese missionaries put on Indian dress, called themselves Roman Brahmins to delude the unwary, set up houses in Brahmin streets, preached before temples and dramatised plays reviling Hindu Gods.[5]

Sarabhoji I (1712–1728) who succeeded Shahji was drawn into Marava politics. During his rule, the Marava country was thrown into a civil war on the death of Vijayaraghunatha(1720), the adopted son of Kilavan. The two candidates who fought for the throne were Bhavani Sankar, an illegitimate son of Kilavan, and Tanda Teva who succeeded Vijayaraghunatha.

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 28–35.
[2] *Idem*, page 31. Peeps into Saraswati Mahal by S. Gopalan, 1953, page 31.
[3] Peeps into Saraswati Mahal by S. Gopalan, 1953, page 31.
[4] The Tanjore Mahratta Principality by William Hickey, 1873, page 77.
[5] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 35–36..

Bhavani Sankar sought the help of Sarabhoji and agreed to give him all the territories north of the Pambar in return for help against his rival. Tanda Teva secured the help of the King of Madurai and the ruler of Pudukkottai. Sarabhoji espoused the cause of Bhavani Sankar and in the battle that took place the Tanjore forces routed the combined forces of Madurai, Pudukkottai and Ramanathapuram and placed Bhavani Sankar on the throne of Ramanathapuram.[1] Sarabhoji is also said to have compelled the Nayaka of Madurai to carry out certain repairs to the Cauvery dam, the want of which was causing drought and famine in Tanjore.[2]

But it is not so much in war as in peace that his achievements are remembered. Tradition represents him as pious and charitable; he is said to have given away a number of agraharams to Brahmins like Mangamatam in Tiruvenkadu and Sarabhojirajapuram in Tirukkadaiyur. He was likewise a generous patron of letters. It was during his time that Veda Kavi in the name of Anandaraya wrote Vidya Parinaya and that Jagannatha wrote Sarabaraja Vilasa and Ratimanmatha. It was also during his time that Sivabharata and Sivacharitram were written.[3]

During the last years of his life he was troubled by a domestic calamity. He had no issue by his first wife, but his second wife gave out that she was delivered of a male child and named it Savai Shahji. This child, it is said, was really palmed off on Sarabhoji, as it was born to Kuppi or Rupi, a washerwoman. Tukkoji at once exposed the fraud to his brother, and Sarabhoji then seems to have set it aside or killed it. There is another version that Sarabhoji killed the child and put away his second queen and yet another that the child was called Suckoji and Savai Shahji. Whatever that may be, Katturaja, a later pretender to the Tanjore throne, claimed to be this Suckoji or Savai Shahji and gave out that he had been rescued from execution and brought up in the forest.[4]

Meanwhile, Tukkoji (1728–1736) succeeded Sarabhoji. His attention was soon drawn to Ramanathapuram where Bhavani Sankar was proving utterly faithless not only to Tanjore but also to his own subjects, and where Kattaya Teva, the maternal uncle of Tanda Teva was conspiring to claim the throne for himself. Bhavani Sankar quarrelled with his chieftains, confiscated their properties, drove them to Tanjore and at the same time audaciously refused to cede the promised territories to Tanjore. Tukkoji therefore espoused the cause of Kattaya

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[1] History of the Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Aiyar, 1924, pages 227–228.

[2] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Iyer, 1928, page 38.

[3] *Idem*, pages 38–40.

[4] *Idem*, page 40.

Teva who promised to cede him all the territories north of the Pambar in return for his assistance against Bhavani Sankar. He defeated the Marava forces in the battle of Uraiyur, took Bhavani Sankar captive, acquired all the territories north of the Pambar, divided the remainder of the Marava country into five parts, gave three of these parts to Kattaya Teva (who now ascended the throne with the title of Kumara Muttu Vijayaraghunatha) and the other two to a poligar refugee and coadjutor of Kattaya Teva who later became the Raja of Sivaganga. This is how Tukkoji became responsible for the creation of the Sivaganga Zamindari.[1] He is also said to have helped Minakshi, the queen of Madurai, against her rebellious poligars and against Chanda Saheb in 1734 when he attacked her Kingdom. But Chanda Saheb came down again against Madurai in 1736, captured it more by stratagem than by fair play and established Muslim rule in it.[2] The extinction of the Hindu rule in the neighbouring kingdom of Madurai was a great loss to Tanjore especially at a time when she had to undergo a period of anarchy and confusion.

Tukkoji was a linguist, a scholar and a lover of fine arts. He is well known for his work Sangita Saramrita, which shows his cultivated taste in music. He is said to have introduced Hindustani music in Tanjore. His talented minister, Ghanasyam, was a voluminous writer and wrote no less than sixty-four poetical works in Sanskrit, and Ghanasyam's wives, Sundari and Kamala, composed a commentary on a Sanskrit drama. There seems to have lived also during his reign Manambhatta, another voluminous Sanskrit writer as well as a great collector of books and manuscripts.[3]

The death of Tukkoji plunged Tanjore into a state of anarchy for four years. During this period, Ekoji II or Baba Saheb, the son of Tukkoji, ruled for about a year (1736–1737) and, when he died, was succeeded by his wife Sujana Bai (1737–1738) who ruled for about two years. The real power in the state at this time passed into the hands of the Muslim commander of the Fort named Saiyid, who acted as a King-maker. Under his protection there arose then the pretender Katturaja who called himself the son of Sarabhoji. Katturaja superseded Sujana Bai and ruled for a few days when he was driven out by the people into exile. But Saiyid wreaked vengeance upon the people by imprisoning Sujana Bai and impaling her two brothers. Meanwhile Katturaja approached the French by promising to cede to them Karaikal, but before getting their help he managed by bribes and intrigues to get back the

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[1] The Nayaks of Madurai by S. Satyanatha Iyer, 1924, pages 228–229.

[2] *Idem*, pages 232–234. The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Ayyar, 1928, page 41.

[3] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Ayyar, 1928, pages 40–41. Peeps into Saraswati Mahal by S. Gopalan, 1953, page 32.

throne and ruled for about a year (1738–1739). It was at this time that Chanda Saheb, the French protege of the Nawabship of Arcot, came down and forced him to cede Karaikal to the French. No sooner was this done than he was again deposed by the people and replaced by their representative Pratap Singh, the son by a sword wife of Tukkoji. Here the period of anarchy ended but not, as will be seen presently, the trials and tribulations of Tanjore.[1]

Pratap Singh (1739–1763) was a man of no common ability. It is said that he ascended the throne solely because of popular pressure, that he himself had no desire to wear the crown. But having worn it, he defended it against a veritable sea of seething troubles that assailed it from all sides. The wonder is that he did not lose it in the midst of so many dangers. For the times in which he reigned were the times in which the English, the French, the Nawab, the Nizam and the Maharashtras were enacting a stirring drama of wars, assassinations and political intrigues in the Carnatic. In 1733 Sadat-ulla-Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic, had been succeeded by his adopted nephew, Dost Ali. Dost Ali had two sons, Safdar Ali and Hasan Ali and several daughters. Chanda Saheb had married one of the daughters, while Murtaz Ali, the Killedar of Vellore, had married another. In 1740 Sahu, the Maharashtra ruler of Satara, at the instigation of the Nizam who had refused to recognize either Sadat-ulla-Khan or Dost Ali as the Nawab, sent Raghuji and Fateh Singh with a large army to the south. They overran the Carnatic and routed and killed Dost Ali, but Safdar Ali immediately proclaimed himself as the Nawab, bought them off and induced them to attack Tiruchirappalli where Chanda Saheb had become independent.[2] In this political struggle Pratap Singh found himself helpless. He could trust neither Raghuji and Fateh Singh nor Chanda Saheb. Raghuji and Fateh Singh, however, captured Tiruchirappalli, gave it to Murari Rao, the notorious Maharashtra freebooter of Gooty, and carried away Chanda Saheb as prisoner to Satara. No sooner was this done, than Murari Rao attacked Tanjore, but Pratap Singh repulsed him with the help of his able general Manoji.[3]

This was not the only cloud on the horizon. In 1742, Murtaz Ali assassinated Safdar Ali and proclaimed himself as the Nawab only to be swiftly driven away by his army which proclaimed Saheb Jedda (Muhammad Said), Safdar Ali's son, a mere boy, as the Nawab. In 1743, Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Arcot, took the boy prisoner, appointed his feudatory Anwar-ud-din Khan as the Nawab and specially recommended, it is

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Ayyar, 1928, pages 43–46.

[2] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 262.

[3] *Idem*, page 262. The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Ayyar, 1928, pages 49–50.

said, the boy to his care. But Anwar-ud-din soon got the boy conveniently assassinated by Murtaz Ali and continued unchallenged as the Nawab. Anwar-ud-din then attacked Tanjore (1744–1745) and exacted from Pratap Singh a bond for seven lakhs of rupees and some money in ready cash in discharge of arrears of tribute at the rate of four lakhs of rupees per annum. Close on the heels of this came the outbreak of war between France and England and the French and the English who had by now firmly established themselves and were hankering after political power not only fought against each other but fought against the Indian powers, setting up and pulling down Nawabs and Nizams and making a series of momentous political alignments with them.[1]

When these alignments were in the making, Katturaja saw a silver lining in the cloud. In 1746 he had unsuccessfully sent an envoy to Pondicherry and sought French help against Pratap Singh.[2] In 1749 he successfully approached the English at Fort St. David. He represented that he was the lawful heir to the throne, that Pratap Singh was a usurper, that, if he were supported by a small armed force, the whole population of the country would rise on his behalf and that, if he succeeded in regaining his throne, he would make liberal concessions to the English, pay all the expenses of the expedition and cede to them in perpetuity the Fort of Devikottai. Here was an opportunity which the English then thirsting for commercial as well as political advantages could ill afford to miss. They believed that Katturaja or Saiyaji as he was called by them was the legitimate son of Tukkoji and as such had certainly better claims to Tanjore than Pratap Singh.[3] They therefore fell in with the proposal and sent a force under Captain Cope to invest Devikottai. This was the first interference of the English in Tanjore politics and this proved a signal failure. Manoji stoutly defended the fort and when asked to surrender, he replied that he had 5,000 men resolutely determined to defend the fort to the last and that he would never sully the small remains of his life by surrendering it. He harassed Cope and his forces and compelled them to withdraw.[4] This expedition made the English realize that Katturaja had not the least popular support but still, having committed themselves, they could not withdraw from the contest without bringing dishonour on their name. They accordingly sent another expedition, this time under the veteran Major Lawrence. Lawrence took Devikottai, but seeing that it was

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1. Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, 1949, Vol. I, pages 262–263.
2. The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, page 50.
3. Fort St. David Consultations, 1749 (printed), pages 59–61.
4. The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 51–52, Fort St. David Consultations, 1749 (Printed), pages 69, 92, 93. Tanjore District Manual, pages 781–783.

very difficult either to make any further conquests or to find any popular support for Katturaja, came to terms with Pratap Singh.[1] Pratap Singh had no other alternative. He had to accept the terms offered not only to silence for ever the troublesome claims to the Tanjore throne but also to strengthen his position in the coming events that had already cast an ominous shadow by the release of Chanda Saheb from Satara. It was agreed that Pratap Singh should reimburse the English the expenses of their late expeditions amounting to one lakh of rupees and should cede to them the fort of Devikottai with as much land surrounding it as would yield an annual revenue of 9,000 pagodas.[2]

Meanwhile events moved quickly in the Carnatic. On the death of Nizam-ul-Mulk both his son Nazar Jung and his grandson Musafar Jung claimed the title of Nizam. The English recognized and allied themselves with the former, while the French recognized and allied themselves with the latter. Musafar Jung, in order to strengthen his claims, came to the south with a considerable army, allied himself with Chanda Saheb whom he nominated as the Nawab of the Carnatic and with a picked force sent by Dupleix defeated and killed Anwar-ud-din in the battle of Ambur. And then, after a grand reception at Pondicherry, the united forces marched towards Tiruchirappalli where Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwar-ud-din and the ally and protege of the English, had entrenched himself[3]. Pratap Singh, finding the theatre of war approaching his frontier, had to take a quick decision as to which side to join. He joined Muhammad Ali and the English and helped them ; but Chanda Saheb immediately took revenge and besieged Tanjore. Danger, however, was averted by the valour of Manoji and the skilful procrastination of Pratap Singh who protracted the negotiations until the approach of the avenging army under Nazar Jung compelled the besiegers to retreat. Pratap Singh was, however, forced to give Chanda Saheb a bond for forty-six lakhs of rupees.[4]

Pratap Singh was now inexorably drawn into the great struggle for the Nawabship of Arcot between Chanda Saheb and the French on the one hand and Muhammad Ali and the English on the other. Although tempted by Dupleix, he declared against Chanda Saheb and sent a detachment of 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot to co-operate with the English Forces helping Muhammad Ali at Tiruchirappalli.[5] Finally Chanda Saheb was captured by the allied forces and handed over to

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[1] Fort St. David Consultations, 1749 (printed), pages 122–125. Tanjore District Manual, pages 783–785.

[2] Fort St. David Consultations, 1749 (printed), page 114.

[3] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 263.

[4] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 52–53.

[5] Tanjore District Manual, page 788.

Manoji who, it is said, treacherously had him murdered (1752).[1] This was, however, not the end of the matter. The struggle between the French and the English at Tiruchirappalli continued unabated and Pratap Singh rendered the English moderate assistance in 1753. At the end of that year, renewed efforts were made by the French backed by Murari Rao of Gooty and Nandi Raja, the Mysore General, to draw him to their side and when they failed in this, Murari Rao led an expedition into Tanjore. But this expedition failed disastrously, being caught between two branches of the Cauvery and destroyed or captured almost to a man by the Tanjore troops led by Manoji.[2] Then for some reason which is not quite clear, but which may be palace intrigue or French intrigue, Pratap Singh dismissed Manoji and appointed Gadi Rao in his place as the general. This was instantly followed by a plundering expedition of the French in the eastern parts of Tanjore which did not a little havoc by cutting the banks of the Cauvery. Gadi Rao's troops were annihilated by Murari Rao. The English now intervened and induced Pratap Singh to recall Manoji. Manoji took the field, while the Nawab loosened his purse and the combined effect of both threats and bribes made Murari Rao leave Tanjore. The Tanjore troops continued to assist the English till 1754 when the war between the English and the French was brought to a close by a treaty by which each nation gained its lost possessions and Muhammad Ali became practically secure as the Nawab of the Carnatic.[3]

Pratap Singh was the first to suffer when the war broke out again between the French and the English in 1757. The French had possession of the bond for forty-six lakhs of rupees which he had been compelled to give to Chanda Saheb in 1749; and as they were now badly in need of money they marched into Tanjore (1758) under Lally to exact payment. Landing at Karaikkal, Lally plundered Nagore and Kivalur and finally besieged Tanjore. Pratap Singh, however, resisted stoutly and on the arrival of the English troops at Tanjore and of the English fleet at Karaikkal Lally raised the siege. His retreat was very much hampered by want of food and by the attacks of the Tanjore troops.[4] Pratap Singh seems to have continued friendly relations with the English till his death in 1763 when the Anglo-French war also came to an end. All these years, however, he was under the constant threat of the Nawab's demands of tribute which had fallen into arrears. In 1762, the Nawab pressed his demands and under the mediation of the English he agreed to pay the Nawab twenty-two lakhs of rupees by way of arrears besides the annual tribute of four lakhs

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[1] History of Hindostan by R. Orme, Vol. I, 1861, page 241.
[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 47.
[3] Tanjore District Manual, pages 789–791.
[4] *Idem*, pages 791–793.

and the Nawab assigned the whole sum to the English in part-payment of his debts to them.[1] But this was not the only matter over which his relations became strained with the Nawab. The Marava politics added fuel to the fire. The lands won by Tukkoji from the Maravas were soon recovered by them. Pratap Singh therefore sent Manoji with an army and won them back again. But they were once more lost and when he once again tried to regain them, the Nawab, who had by now strengthened his position and who looked upon the Marava ruler as his vassal, prohibited him from launching any expedition against the Maravas.[2] It will shortly be made clear how these two matters came to a head under the successor of Pratap Singh.

Pratap Singh died in 1763. He may be considered as the last of the great Rajas of Tanjore. He dragged the country from anarchy into order and made it play a not inconspicuous part in the struggles for political supremacy between the French and the English. That he preserved Tanjore unscathed during those troublous times redounds not a little to his credit. That he became to a considerable extent dependent upon the English and the Nawab towards the close of his rule is some thing which he could not avoid. A small kingdom like Tanjore could not have fared better in the contest among the giants. That he had sufficient political acumen is clear from the choice he made of his allies and from the caution with which he behaved towards them. He was said to be intelligent, good, handsome and brave. He lightened the land revenue assessment, rescued the temples and maths from the tyranny and oppression of Saiyid, showed tolerance towards all religions and even built a mosque at Nagore and endowed it with fifteen villages.[3]

Tuljaji (1763–1787), his son and successor, altogether lacked political sagacity. He alienated the Nawab as well as the English, the two most important powers that at that time counted in the politics of the Carnatic. Nor did he whole-heartedly ally himself with Hyder Ali and the French, their powerful enemies. He shut his eyes to all that was happening around him and behaved in a manner as if he was completely independent, as if he could defy anyone who challenged his actions. But his actions were challenged both by the English and the Nawab and he was made to lose almost all his independence. Under him Tanjore suffered twice, once under the occupation of Muhammad Ali and again under the occupation of Hyder Ali and but for the consideration shown to him by the Court of Directors of the East India Company he would have

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[1] Tanjore District Manual, pages 793–794.

[2] *Idem*, page 774. The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Ayyar, 1928, page 56.

[3] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Iyer, 1928, pages 47–49.

lost his kingdom for ever to the Nawab. As it was, he retained his kingdom but lost almost all power and prestige.

It happened like this. The treaty which settled the pecuniary relations between the Nawab and Tanjore did not provide any guarantee in any other matters and the Nawab, who was now weighted down by the immense load of debts which he owed the English because of the military aid he received from them, lost no time in doing everything that he could to annex Tanjore. He thought that he could pay his public as well as private debts to the English with the riches of Tanjore, but when the English objected to his adopting any direct action against Tanjore, he resorted to indirect action, sufficiently compelling to make her accede to his demands. Westward of Tiruchirappalli in his own dominions there existed the Melur anicut of the Cauvery, an anicut upon which the prosperity of Tanjore mostly depended. It had always been customary sometimes for the Nawab and sometimes for the Raja to keep this anicut under repair. But now in 1764 the Nawab not only refused to repair it but also refused to permit Tuljaji to repair it. Tuljaji in alarm solicited the interference of the English and after protracted negotiations the English at last succeeded in persuading the Nawab to permit Tuljaji to carry out the repairs [1]. But the Nawab though frustrated in this attempt lost no hopes of annexing Tanjore to his dominions. He waited for a favourable opportunity and several favourable opportunities soon presented themselves. During the invasion of Hyder in 1769 Tuljaji failed to send him sufficient troops and treasure, fell into arrears in the payment of tribute and, what is more, corresponded with Hyder and the Maharashtras in spite of the warning he had received from the English. And, as if all this was not enough, Tuljaji led an expedition into the Marava country over which the Nawab claimed suzerainty and reconquered the lands which his father was expressly forbidden to reconquer by the Nawab [2]. These were not the only weapons which the Nawab mercilessly used against Tuljaji. He had by now by skilful intrigue in England, through his agent Macpherson, succeeded in setting the British Ministry against the East India Company; he had by now secured on his side first Sir John Lindsay and next Sir Robert Harland who had been specially deputed by the Ministry with extraordinary powers as the Ministers Plenipotentiaries to his Court. Above all, he had effectually secured on his side most of the Company's servants in Madras, including some Members of Council, by borrowing large sums of money from them and by making their prosperity depend upon his prosperity. He now made use of all these formidable weapons in his armoury

[1] Tanjore District Manual, pages 794–795.
[2] *Idem*, pages 795–796.

and urged upon the Madras Council the utmost necessity of their helping him to reduce Tanjore. And the English fell into his scheme.[1]

The English troops under General Smith advanced into Tanjore, took Vallam without a struggle and besieged Tanjore in 1771. The Nawab was in ecstasies, but just then, when Tanjore was about to be reduced, his son Umdat-ul-Umra played him false. He concluded an agreement with Tanjore much to the advantage of himself and ordered the English to stop all hostilities. By this agreement to which the English were not a party, the Raja agreed to discharge the two years' tribute in arrears, i.e., eight lakhs of rupees, to pay a large sum of thirty-two and a half lakhs of rupees for the expenses of the expedition, to restore all lands taken from the Maravas, to give up certain villages in Tiruchirappalli, and for the liquidation of the sum of thirty-two and a half lakhs of rupees to give up part of his territories to the Nawab for a period of two years. Umdat-ul-Umra received in addition from Tuljaji a handsome present of six lakhs of rupees for himself, one lakh of rupees for his brother Mader-ul-Mulk, and seventy-seven thousand rupees as interest on tribute.[2]

This agreement was anathema to the Nawab who wished to acquire nothing less than the whole of Tanjore. He therefore plied the English with the faithlessness of Tuljaji who, he said, had carried on a clandestine correspondence with Hyder and the Maharashtras. The English at the same time, it is evident, saw no prospect of their private debts being cleared off so long as the Nawab was not rendered rich enough to pay them. It is this more than the so-called faithlessness of Tuljaji that really prompted them within two years of the previous expedition to send another expedition to reduce Tanjore. General Smith again besieged Tanjore and captured it in 1773, took Tuljaji and his family prisoners and handed over his kingdom to the Nawab.[3]

Now was the time for the Nawab to wreak vengeance on Tuljaji. As he could not have been certain how long he would be allowed to enjoy his ill-gotten gain, he exacted the utmost amount of revenue from Tanjore. It is said that in one year, 1774–1775, he exacted no less than eighty-one lakhs of rupees which is about double the amount of revenue normally collected annually by the Rajas.[4] Tanjore would have been soon drained of all its wealth but for the timely and peremptory interference of the Home Authorities. The moment they

[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, pages 264–265. Vestiges of Old Madras by H. D. Love, Vol. III, 1913, pages 64–69.

[2] Tanjore District Manual, pages 796–801.

[3] *Idem*, pages 801–805.

[4] *Idem*, pages 809–810.

came to know this great injustice done to Tuljaji, the Court of Directors of the East India Company wrote a scathing despatch (1775) roundly condemning the action of the Madras Council both in 1771 and in 1773, seeing not the least justification for its conduct, ordering the instant rendition of Tanjore to the Raja and laying down the terms of the treaty to be concluded with him. And to show their resentment as well as to make certain that their orders were faithfully carried out, they dismissed Governor Wynch and sent down Lord Pigot again as Governor.[1] All this goes greatly to their credit.

In spite of all the opposition of the Nawab and his creditors and the majority of the Members of his Council, Pigot carried out the orders of the Court of Directors to the letter. He proceeded forthwith to Tanjore accompanied by two Members of his Council on 11th April 1776, proclaimed the restoration of Tuljaji and put him in possession of all his territories. He then entered into a treaty with Tuljaji by which it was agreed that the Company's troops, instead of merely garrisoning the fort, should be employed for the protection of the whole country and that the Raja, instead of assigning revenue, should pay an annual subsidy of fourteen lakhs of rupees in addition to the tribute of four lakhs of rupees to the Nawab (12th April 1776). Tuljaji was all gratitude: "Had I a thousand tongues," he said, "they could not express my gratitude".[2] And as a mark of gratitude he gave away as a gift to the English Nagore and 277 villages adjacent to it which came to be known as the Nagore Settlement.[3] To this was added by the English three years later, Nagapattinam which had been taken from the Dutch.[4]

Tanjore, it is obvious, now lost much of its independence and became a protected state of the English. While Tanjore lost all its prestige, Pigot lost his life for having restored Tanjore to the Raja. The Nawab fulminated at finding the fair prize taken away from his hands for ever, while his numerous creditors like the notorious Paul Benfield who were anxious to fatten the Nawab only to fatten themselves upon him, suddenly lost all hopes of recovering their loans. They were supported by the majority of the Council and the result was that, when one evening in August 1776 Pigot drove from the Fort to the Garden House, he was captured and hurried off into military confinement at St. Thomas Mount. He died while still in confinement in the following year.[5]

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[1] Military Despatches from England, 1774–1776, Vols. 7–9, Despatches, dated 12th April 1775, pages 37–50 and 61–79.

[2] Tanjore District Manual, pages 807–809.

[3] *Idem*, pages 808–809.

[4] *Idem*, page 2.

[5] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, page 265. Vestiges of Old Madras by H. D. Love, Vol. III, 1913, pages 84–109.

Tanjore had hardly recovered from the effects of the Nawab's Government when it was subjected once more to a terrible ordeal. For, in 1781 Hyder invaded Tanjore, laid waste and took possession of the whole of the Raja's territory, except his capital which was protected by an English garrison, and harried it for about seven months (May to November 1781) without the least mercy, cutting off the embankments of all the channels, driving away the peasants to the woods north of the Coleroon or in the Tondaiman's country and exacting the maximum amount of revenue from the land.[1] And after a few years, when the wounds were still fresh on Tanjore, Tuljaji died, leaving behind him a ruined country, an adopted son Sarabhoji II and a regent Amar Singh, son of Pratap Singh by a sword wife.

Tanjore suffered most under Tuljaji not only because of his political incapacity but also because of his maladministration. He spent his time mostly in luxury and dissipation, in drink and the company of evil counsellors, caring little for the welfare of his subjects. He dismissed Dabir Pandit, the Revenue Minister, who had done not a little to set right the administration in the time of Pratap Singh; and he recalled him to office again when it was too late, when matters had gone from bad to worse. But strange to say, he took a great interest in encouraging learning. He was a linguist; he composed in Sanskrit; he patronized Telugu and Marathi. He conferred the title of Andhra Kalidasa on Aluri Kuppana who wrote many works such as Acharya Vijayamu, Panchanada Stalapurana, Yakshaganas of the Ramayana and the Bhagavata stories, Parama Bhagavatacharitra, Indumati Parinaya and Karmavipaka. He befriended the well-known missionary Schwartz, he encouraged Advaita philosophy and he showed a broad tolerant outlook towards all religions.[2]

Amar Singh (1787–1798), who became the Regent of Sarabhoji II, soon put forward claims to the throne itself. He questioned the validity of the adoption and Sir Archibald Campbell who was then the Governor of Madras proceeded in person to Tanjore and laid the claims of the two candidates before twelve pandits. These pandits unanimously declared that according to Hindu Law the adoption of Sarabhoji to the prejudice of Amar Singh was illegal and that Amar Singh was justly entitled to the musnad. Acting on this decision the Madras Council in April 1787 invested Amar Singh with regal authority and at the same time concluded with him a treaty by which the tribute and the subsidy hitherto paid were augmented and their more regular payment secured. It was stipulated that in case of non-fulfilment of the treaty or in case of war breaking out in the Carnatic the revenue administration of the

[1] Tanjore District Manual, pages 810–813.
[2] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 58–60.

country would be taken away from him, though he would still be allowed jurisdiction in civil and criminal administration. Agreeably to the terms of this treaty, the English took into their hands the revenue administration of the whole country during the war with Tippu in 1790 and 1791.[1]

It was in this manner that the English interfered in the Tanjore succession and effectually rivetted their hold upon that country. This was only one step in the direction of the subjection of Tanjore. Another step in the same direction was taken soon after the war. For a revised treaty was now imposed upon the Raja stipulating much more stringent terms. The English were to garrison all the forts in Tanjore, to assume the entire charge of the country in times of war and to receive the whole of the revenues except one-fifth of it and one lakh of pagodas in addition which were to be paid for the expenses of the Raja. They were to discharge the private debts of the Raja amounting to 2,53,060 pagodas, while he was to pay annually 60,000 pagodas until the whole was discharged. He was also to pay certain instalments on account of subsidy and tribute; but if he were to fail in these payments, they were to annex parts of his territories and retain them until the collections made enabled them to clear off all the arrears. Their troops were at all times to be at his disposal for the collection of revenue or the maintenance of public peace. He was to be their friend and ally and was to be supplied with copies of all treaties concluded by them concerning the Carnatic, but he was to bind himself not to enter into any political engagements with any state, European or Indian, without their knowledge and approbation. It is needless to state that this treaty of 1792 took away all political power from the Raja and made him entirely subservient to the English.[2]

Meanwhile Sarabhoji whose claims to the throne had been overlooked was not idle. It is said that, when, Tuljaji was on his death-bed, he had sent for Schwartz in whom he had the greatest trust and commended Sarabhoji to his care. "This is not my son", he had said, "but yours; you must be his guardian and protector. I lay this hand in yours."[3] His trust was not misplaced. Schwartz took a genuine interest in the boy then nine years old, taught him European languages, literature and science and, when Amar Singh began to ill-treat him, got him with the consent of the English removed to Madras

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1 Political Consultations, 21st April 1854, Vol. No. 530, pages 1748–1749.
Tanjore District Manual, pages 813–815.

2 Political Consultations, 21st April 1854, Vol. No. 530, pages 1749–1754.
Tanjore District Manual, pages 816–818.
Treaties, Engagements and Sanads by C. U. Aitchison, Vol. IX, 1909, pages 84–90.

3 Tanjore District Manual, page 818.

(1792). Nor was this all. Schwartz never ceased from urging the claims of Sarabhoji to the throne and memorialised even the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis.[1] The result was, that, seven years after the decision of succession had been given in favour of Amar Singh, the matter was again referred to the decision of the Pandits of Bengal and Benares. The grounds on which the Tanjore Pandits had orginally decided in favour of Amar Singh were that at the time Tuljaji adopted Sarabhoji he was in such a state of infirmity as did not admit of the exercise of his mental faculties; that the adoption was made without consulting Amar Singh or the other members of the family; that Sarabhoji was an only son and as such could not be adopted; and that when he was adopted he was past the age of adoption admitted by the Hindu Law. Every one of these points was controverted by the decision of the Bengal and Benares Pandits. They contended that Tuljaji had some days before his death communicated to the English his intention to adopt Sarabhoji, that there were papers showing him to have been in complete possession of his faculties up to the time of his death; that he had in fact communicated in person to the British Resident, in the presence of Amar Singh, the arrangement he wished to be made for the administration of the country during the minority of Sarabhoji; that Sarabhoji being an only son did not invalidate his adoption, although guilt according to the Shastras might attach to both his real and adoptive father, the one for giving and the other for taking in adoption an only son; and finally that Sarabhoji being lineally descended from the same male ancestors as his adoptive father, his age at the time of his adoption was not a matter of moment.[2]

In the light of this fresh decision, the Home Authorities felt not the least doubt that Amar Singh held his position by error and corruption and that Sarabhoji had been wrongfully deprived of his inheritance by the injustice of Amar Singh and the interference of the English. As they were themselves in a great degree the authors of this injustice, it was only right, they felt, that they should remedy the injustice, as soon as it had been exposed. They, therefore, ordered Lord Wellesley, the new Governor-General, to place Sarabhoji on the throne of Tanjore and, at the same time, in order to protectTanjore against oppression and to ensure a fair settlement of their claims, they directed that, before he was put in possession of power, a commission consisting of two or three impartial officers should be appointed to enquire and accurately report on the real state of the country, and that according to the findings of their report the new Rāja should be called upon to agree to such conditions as might tend to ensure a just administration of

[1] Tanjore District Manual, pages 818–819.
[2] Political Consultations, 25th April 1854, Vol. 530, pages 1751–53.

Tanjore and a regular payment of the contributions to which the English were entitled by the Treaty of 1792 [1].

Lord Wellesley, on whom devolved the carrying out of these orders, made as will be seen presently, gradually, step by step, fundamental alterations in carrying out those orders. The man who actually built the British Empire in India could not be expected to miss this opportunity of adding Tanjore to that empire. Whether he had the idea of annexing Tanjore from the very beginning or not, it is difficult to say. But it is crystal clear that his subsequent actions inexorably led to that idea and nothing else. This is what actually happened. From the enquiries which he made during his stay in Madras before he proceeded to Calcutta, he found, he said, that any Commission that might be appointed was not likely to obtain a true insight into the conditions of the country, so long as it remained in the hands of Amar Singh. Amar Singh, he remarked, might very well in his own interests be expected to embarrass the enquiry and frustrate the ends of the Commission. He accordingly instructed [2] General Harris, who was then the acting Governor of Madras, much against the latter's will, [3] to depose Amar Singh at once and to instal Sarabhoji, after however, first obtaining from Sarabhoji his consent to certain stipulations. These stipulations were that he should acquiesce in the appointment of the Commission, offer it every facility to make its enquiries, and agree to abide by whatever decision might finally be arrived at for the better administration of the country and for the security of the British interests. All the same, he wrote to Harris that the best remedy was to secure with the consent of Sarabhoji the entire administration of the country for a period of one or two years after his accession and to pay him during this period all the surplus of the revenues collected over and above what was due from him, in addition to a sufficient allowance for the maintenance of his rank. He, however, deemed it, he said, "of the greatest importance to the national honour" that no grounds should be afforded for the suspicion that the change in the succession had been dictated "by a desire to extend our influence in the country or by any other motives than those of a strict regard to justice". He deemed it also, he said, of equal importance that the proposal for the transfer of the administration of the country temporarily to the Company must be made to come from Sarabhoji himself and that no other means than "advice and persuasion" should be used to induce him to make it. [4]

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[1] Wellesley's Despatches by M. Martin, Vol. V, 1836, pages, 48–50.

[2] *Idem*, pages 41–49.

[3] Military Consultations, dated 20th July 1798, Vol. 240-B, pages 4557–4566.

Political Despatches to England, dated 15th October 1798, Vol. 4, pages 200–209.

[4] Wellesley's Despatches by M. Martin, Vol. V, 1836, page 46.

Idem, page 48.

The whole matter was tactfully broached to Sarabhoji by Benjamin Torin, the British Resident at Tanjore. After some persuasion, Sarabhoji agreed to all the conditions laid down by Wellesley, including the transfer of the country to the British Government for a couple of years, and accordingly in June 1798 Amar Singh was deposed and Sarabhoji was installed.[1] The utmost care was taken to prevent the removal, by Amar Singh or by his party, of public treasure, State jewels and records and at the same time to secure full protection to him against violence or insult.[2] Amar Singh was sent to Madhyarjunam, six miles east of Kumbakonam and twenty-nine miles from Tanjore, where he lived until his death in 1802 enjoying a pension of 25,000 pagodas per annum out of the revenues of Tanjore.[3]

The change in the succession caused no disturbance in Tanjore. But this is not the only change that Tanjore was to witness.[4] The Commission appointed to enquire into the affairs of Tanjore submitted its report on 31st January 1799. This report pointed out how bribery and corruption had become rife under Pratap Singh and Tuljaji; how the situation had grown worse under Amar Singh; how this Raja had left everything to be managed by his Sirkele contrary to the practice of his predecessors; how this Sirkele, knowing nothing about revenue administration, had perpetuated the pattakam system introduced as a temporary measure by Tuljaji under which the whole country was parcelled out among persons called Pattakdars for revenue collection; how these Pattakdars and Kavalgars had endeavoured to collect as much as they could from the people, but still, how the people, because of the absence of any accounts relating to lands, had concealed the cultivation and produce and escaped oppression.[5] There was, however, nothing in this report for justifying the direct and perpetual assumption of the administration of Tanjore by the British and for virtually pensioning off the Raja. But that was precisely what was done by Wellesley. He had already acquired Tanjore and he was by no means willing to part with it now. Taking advantage of his presence in Madras in connection with the final war with Tippu, he issued personal instructions to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, and to Benjamin Torin, the Resident at Tanjore, to lose no time in persuading the Raja to cede his country in perpetuity to the British Government in return for a liberal pension. Sarabhoji was naturally most unwilling to see his dynasty practically extinguished in his

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[1] Tanjore District Records, Vol. 3459, pages 815–822.
Idem, Volume 3460, pages 9–19.
Idem, Volume 4352, pages 36–76.
[2] *Idem*, Volume 4352, pages 64–76.
[3] Tanjore District Manual, page 823.
[4] Tanjore District Records, Vol. 4352, pages 64–76.
[5] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799.

time. But there is evidence to show that the pressure exerted by the British was too strong and that he was too helpless to resist it.[1] He accordingly bowed down before the storm and entered into a treaty (October 1799) with the British Government by which he ceded his country, excepting the Fort of Tanjore, to them in perpetuity in return for an annual payment of one lakh of pagodas besides one-fifth of the net revenues of the country. Inside the Fort, however, he was permitted to exercise sovereign authority, as a sop to his dignity, but, all the same, required to administer justice in an impartial manner. The British were to carry on the revenue and judicial administration of the whole country without any interference from him, were to discharge all the private debts of his predecessors, and were to pay 25,000 pagodas to Amar Singh for his maintenance. They were to treat him besides "with all the attention, respect and honour which is due to a friend and ally of the British nation."[2] It must be stated here that this treaty contained also a very vague but important clause which, while generally confirming the parts of the previous treaties relating to the friendship and alliance between them and him, impliedly though not directly, forbade him from entering into any political relations with any State, European or Indian, without their consent.[3]

Sarabhoji now became a mere figurehead more to be pitied than respected. His authority was confined only to the Fort; but even in exercising his authority in this tiny area, he was constantly harassed and humiliated by the British Resident. He was continually spied upon and his most innocent intercourse with his neighbours like the Tondaiman were magnified by the Resident into serious political offences. He was also coerced into dismissing his officials and appointing only persons approved by the Resident. The records of this period are full of the vexations and sufferings endured by him. No doubt he was subsequently given some more territory round the Fort to govern, was permitted to change his title from His Excellency to His Highness and from His Highness to the Maharaja, was allowed to instal his son as his successor even during his lifetime and protected against the machinations of his jealous kinsmen.[4] But none the less he was like a fallen oak which had lost all its grandeur; he was in a state of utter helplessness and degradation. He died in 1832 sincerely mourned by all his subjects. During his last illness he showed perfect resignation and cheerfulness. His funeral

[1] Tanjore District Records, Vol. 4352, pages 290–303.

[2] Treaties, Engagements and Sanads by C. U. Aitchison, Vol. X, 1909, pages 90–94.

[3] *See* Article 1 of the Treaty of 1799 and Article 9 of the Treaty of 1792.

[4] *See* the numerous references in the Guide to the Records of the Tanjore District, 1749 to 1835, in eight volumes (printed), 1936.

was attended by no less than 80,000 people. His queen and six of his concubines were with great difficulty dissuaded from committing Sati.[1]

It is not surprising that a prince like Sarabhoji II, who had gained his kingdom only to lose it the moment he gained it, should have found solace in arts and sciences. He had even as a boy acquired under the personal training of Schwartz a good taste in Western Literature. Bishop Heber, speaking of him in 1826, says that he quoted Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnaeus and Buffon ; that he had a more accurate judgment of Shakespeare than Byron ; and that he was capable of writing English poetry of considerable merit.[2] He cultivated, in addition, an equally good taste in Indian literature. He was indeed a master of several languages, European as well as Indian. He was at the same time very much interested in scientific discoveries ; he had a small museum containing scientific curiosities like the air pump, the electric machine, astronomical instruments, an ivory human skeleton, etc. He had a printing press of his own for Nagari letters with types hewn out of granite. He established a medical institution called Dhanvantri Mahal and here researches were made by his learned physicians into both the Eastern and the Western systems of medicine and their results were published in eighteen volumes known as Sarabendra Vaidya Muraigal. He evinced a keen interest in architecture and painting ; he built Manora, a tower with eight storeys at Salavanayakanpattanam, to celebrate the English victory over Napoleon and adorned his darbar hall with a number of oil paintings. He was a patron of music as well. But more than all this, he was a great collector of books and manuscripts ; it was he who collected many of the precious books and manuscripts now found in the Saraswathi Mahal Library in Tanjore.[3]

All these attractive qualities were in him combined with an attractive personality. Heber describes him as a strong-built handsome man with eyes and nose like a fine hawk, with bushy mustachios, and generally splendidly dressed with no effeminacy of ornament, looking and talking more like a French general officer than anybody else. He was bold, frugal, popular and charming in his manners, a real good judge of a horse and a deadly shot at a tiger.[4] He was also a man

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[1] Tanjore District Records, Vol. 4445, pages88–90.
[2] Bishop Heber's Narrative, 1828, Vol. II, page 459.
[3] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 73–75.
Peeps into Saraswati Mahal by S. Gopalan, 1953, pages 6–8, 12–13 20–21 and 35.
[4] Bishop Heber's Narrative, 1828, Vol. II, pages 459–460.

of charitable disposition; he established several chatrams for feeding the poor, and the great chatram at Orattanadu is one of the notable monuments of his charity.[1]

Sivaji (1833–1855) who succeeded Sarahboji II was "a pale sickly looking lad" of twenty-three.[2] He was in every way a marked contrast to his father. Sarabhoji took not a little pains to educate him and to build up his character, but all his attempts having failed he seems to have eventually become utterly disgusted with him and begun to hate him and treat him with harshness.[3] On his death-bed, however, his natural affection overcame him and he entrusted his son to the special care and protection of the British Resident.[4] But it was not to be expected that such a prince would turn out to be in any sense a worthy and capable ruler. He had only a small territory, the Fort and the surrounding area to govern, but even this small area he governed so badly that his relatives, his officers, his subjects and the Resident, one and all, consstantly complained of his maladministration and oppression.[5] Surrounded by a host of favourites and evil counsellors, within three years of his accession, he squandered away the immense treasure accumulated by his frugal father. Both the Resident and the Governor at first, in consideration of his youth and inexperience, gave him fatherly advice and tried to wean him from his bad ways and to make him take some real interest in his administration.[6] But it was hopeless, he never improved, he showed not the least concern for the welfare of his subjects, he remained obstinate and callous. In 1841 as a result of his misgovernment which caused a serious affray, the British took away from him all authority which he was exercising in the small area round the Fort.[7] A weaker and more pathetic prince of a great dynasty can perhaps hardly be imagined. As he grew older, his sole concern became the perpetuation of his dynasty and he became haunted by the fear of dying without male issue. None of his three queens bore him a son and one of them bore him only two daughters. In his anxiety to have a male issue he married in 1852 no less than seventeen wives in one day; but they too failed to bear him a son.[8] He then suddenly died in 1855 bringing to the fore-front at once the question of succession.

On the very next day of his death the chief men of his darbar and his family urged upon Henry Forbes, the Resident,

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, page 75. Tanjore District Gazetteer, Vol. I, 1915, page 264.
[2] Bishop Heber's Narrative, Vol. II, page 460.
[3] Tanjore District Manual, page 287.
[4] Tanjore District Records, Vol. 4445, page 91.
[5] *See* for example, Guide to the Records of the Tanjore District, Volume 8, pages 123–163.
[6] *Idem*, pages 160–162.
[7] Tanjore District Manual, page 825.
[8] Political Consultations, 27th November 1855, Vol. 562, pages 5992–5994.

their desire to see the younger princess raised to the musnad, the elder being sickly and not likely to live long. The elder princess who had married a prince of Kolhapur acquiesced in the proposal. And Forbes having a soft corner for the fallen Raj warmly supported the nomination and made out a strong case on her behalf. He urged the following arguments. The treaty of 1799 did not by any means make the Raja a mere pensioner; it left intact the exercise of his sovereign rights, though in a restricted area. There was nothing in the Hindu Law to prevent a woman from inheriting a kingdom. There was already a precedent in the history of Tanjore itself in the case of Sujana Bai who succeeded her husband, Baba Saheb, in 1737 and ruled for a year; and there were also similar precedents in the history of the Maharashtras. None of the widows of Sivaji, however, could be recommended for succession, since they were so many and since not one of them was competent. The princess, on the other hand, then nine years old, was a bright and intelligent child and could very well be trusted under the regency of the Resident to learn her duties and, after she came of age, to govern her country well herself under the guidance of the Resident. Moreover the sudden disappearance of the Raj was bound to cause serious economic disturbances by the withdrawal from circulation of no less than eleven lakhs of rupees annually from the Tanjore principality. Above all, the special circumstances in which the Tanjore country came into the hands of the British should not be forgotten. It was not conquered by the British Government. It was acquired by them without expending the life of a single soldier or the value of a single rupee. It was acquired in circumstances in which the cry of the orphan was never heard, nor the tear of the widow ever shed. It had, during the last fifty years, brought in a revenue of more than twenty crores of rupees to the British Government. Its rulers, neither Sarabhoji II nor Sivaji, had ever caused the least hindrance to the British rule; they had, on the other hand, been throughout loyal and friendly to the British Government. It now remained to be seen, therefore, said Forbes, what that Government would do to the daughter of the last descendant of the loyal line of rulers.[1]

All this pleading, however, failed to have any effect. For, it was an age in which the policy of annexation propounded by Lord Dalhousie reigned supreme. Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi had already been annexed for want of direct male heirs. Lord Harris, the Governor, could not therefore be expected to uphold the views of Forbes. He saw not the least reason for continuing the succession. He viewed the whole question from a different angle altogether and adduced the

[1] Political Consultations, 27th November 1855, Vol. 562, pages5987–6008.

following arguments in support of his view. By the treaty of 1799 the Raja had actually ceased to be a person of any political consequence and had become nothing but a stipendiary prince without any power or authority. If succession by a female was permitted by the Hindu Law, then by the precedents quoted by the Resident himself it was one of the sixteen surviving widows and not the daughter who should succeed. The treaty was, in fact, distinctly personal just like the treaty of 1802 with the Nawab of Arcot. That this was so, was proved by the fact that the succession of Sivaji was recognized not in accordance with the treaty but in accordance with the express desire of Sarabhoji, by the Government of India; and also by the fact that when Sarabhoji proposed that the succession might be recognized by adding a clause to the treaty the Government declined to consider that proposal. Now that there was no male heir, there was no legitimate claimant to the Raj. There was no point in upholding a royalty which was effete and which, if revived, was certain to lead to the gross misgovernment of the country. Nor was there any point in "propping up a useless pageant which, if left to itself, would indubitably dwindle away." It was, therefore, most unwise, he considered, to perpetuate the Raj. It should be extinguished, but the royal family should be treated with every consideration; they should be permitted to occupy the palace and granted liberal pensions for their support.[1] Henry Montgomery, a Member of the Council, while agreeing with the conclusions of the Governor, however, disagreed with his interpretation of the nature of the treaty. He held that the treaty of 1799 could by no means be regarded as purely personal; that it was, in fact, a modification of the treaty of 1792 which recognized heirs and successors and that, if Sivaji had left any male heir, the Government would have been bound to recognize his claims.[2] George Anson, the other Member and Commander-in-Chief, merely endorsed the views of the Governor.[3] The Government placed these views before the Court of Directors and the Government of India[4] and both these superior authorities fully agreed with the view that the dynasty should be ended. After reviewing the case and remarking on the absence of the male claimant to the dignity, the Directors went on to say; "By no law or usage, however, has the daughter of a Hindu Raja any right of succession to the Raj and it is entirely out of the question that we should create such a right for the sole purpose of perpetuating a titular principality at a great cost to the public revenue."[5]

[1] Political Consultations, 27th November 1855, Vol. 562, pages 6027–6032.

[2] *Idem*, pages 6032–6045.

[3] *Idem*, pages 6045–6049.

[4] Political Despatches to England, 22nd November 1855, Vol. 19, pages 224–228.

[5] Public Consultations, 15th July 1856, Vol. 570, pages 42–44.

Such is the end of the last of the Indian dynasties of Tanjore. Like the earlier dynasties it continued only so long as it produced a succession of vigorous and capable rulers. The moment it began to produce weak rulers that moment its fate was sealed. And unluckily it so happened that the rule of the weak Maharashtra kings coincided with the rise of the strong British power. Masters alike of war and diplomacy, the British never let slip an opportunity to extend their influence and expand their territories. At every opportunity they exacted more and more subsidies and imposed more and more restrictions on political power until at length they absorbed the whole kingdom and made the king a mere figurehead. And even this figurehead they swept away in the end.

The extinction of the Raj had to be quietly acquiesced in by the Royal family, as it was an act of State. But the taking over of the private property of the Raja by the British was challenged by Kamakshiamba Bai Saheba, the senior Rani of Sivaji. In 1856 she filed a suit in the Supreme Court at Madras laying claim to the private property. This suit was decided in her favour but on appeal by the Government the Privy Council decided that the annexation of the Raj as well as the private property was an act of State and as such the Courts had no jurisdiction in the matter (1859). [1] Whether the annexation of the Raj was just or unjust was for long debated. The Privy Council refused to pronounce any opinion upon it. The case against annexation, as we have already seen, was ably put forward by Forbes. The case for it was equally ably put forward by Sir Charles Trevelyan, one of the most enlightened Governors of Madras, in 1859. He said that he was always opposed to the policy of annexation but that in the case of Tanjore he was perfectly satisfied that the annexation was just. Tanjore was not an Indian State like other Indian States. Its Raja had neither people nor territory to govern beyond the walls of his palace. He had no duties of Government to perform and yet he and his dependants were a heavy charge on the industrious portion of the population. The existence of a society raised above public opinion with no responsible duties to discharge was something utterly demoralizing. Moreover, the Raja had in this case died without any legitimate or adopted son. The only claimant was his widow and no well-informed and impartial person could maintain with any plausibility the right of succession of a female to the Hindu Raj. [1]

These views of Trevelyan were not made public; but his acts, which clearly showed that he was by no means disposed to revive the Raj or to restore the properties that the Raja

[1] G.O. No. 705, Political, dated 5th December 1859.

had left to the widows, led to a wave of protests from the people. The Native Association of Madras convened a special meeting on 18th February 1860 to give a warm send off to J. B. Norton, the Advocate of the Tanjore family. He had ably defended the Rani's case in India and was then proceeding to England to lay the facts in person before the Home Government in the hope of reviving the Raj and rendering justice to the Rani. On this occasion Sri V. Sadagopachariar, a prominent Pleader of the Sudder Adaulut, read an address strongly criticising the action of the Government. The address said that the action of the Government had wounded the feelings of the whole Hindu community. The rights, dignity and honour of the Hindu dynasty of Tanjore had been disregarded and violently crushed. Such acts, if persisted in even after the Queen's proclamation, would make it impossible for the people to place any faith in the pledged honour of the sovereign.[1] This address, it will be seen, shows in no unmistakable manner the growth of national feeling and public opinion. These were utterly lacking in 1799 when the British annexed the whole kingdom.

Passions have now cooled down and the annexation has become past history. But the reader who has studied carefully the various steps by which the entire kingdom of Tanjore passed into the hands of the British would not have failed to notice that it was political consideration above everything else which made the British annex the kingdom. He would not have failed to notice that the real annexation was made in 1799 and not in 1855 when only the titular dignity was extinguished. Nor would he fail to draw here a parallel between the annexations of the past and the liquidations of the present and to come to the conclusion that it is political necessity which in the ultimate analysis decides the fate of all small states.

However, after the extinction of the Raj, the history of Tanjore became a history of struggle for private properties and political pensions. Private property worth about sixty-eight lakhs of rupees was handed over jointly to the Senior Rani and the other widows and when this became a subject of constant disputes, the matter was left to be decided by the Civil Courts. Liberal pensions were also bestowed on the various members of the family payable for one or more lives according to the nearness of the relationship of the pensioners to the Raja, and some of these pensions are still being continued.[2]

It becomes necessary at this stage to depict the system of Maharashtra Government and administration from the time

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[1] Report of the Proceedings of the Presentation of an address to John Bruce Norton by the Madras Native Association (Madras 1860).

[2] Note on the Tanjore Raj Pensioners by M. S. Mascarenhas.

of Ekoji to the time of Sarabhoji II when the Tanjore country was assumed by the British. From the time of assumption of the country to the time of extinction of the Maharashtra dynasty, i.e., from 1799 to 1856, the Raja's rule, being confined to the Fort alone, loses all its importance and deserves no separate treatment.

As in the Chōḷa and the Nayaka period, so in the Maharashtra period the King was autocratic, the sole unquestioned head of the State, of the army as well as of the civil administration. In practice, however, he now came to be assisted by a distinct council of ministers, each in charge of a separate department of administration. This Council, which was called Ashtapradhan, generally consisted of the Mantri, the Dalavay (Commander-in-chief), the Dewan (Pradhani), the Samprati (Accountant or Finance Minister), the Dharmadhikari (Minister for Charities), the Sirkele (the Chamberlain of the Royal Household), the Rayasam (Chief Secretary), and the Purohit. Besides these important officials, there were, at the capital, a Chief Judge, an Amildar (Collector of Revenue), a Killedar (Commandant of Fort) and a number of Arikars (Spies).[1]

Unlike the Cholas, the Maharashtras had no navy. We have also very little information about the composition of their army. But it seems to have consisted chiefly of the cavalry and the infantry, armed with swords and fire-arms. Elephantry which formed an important corps under the Cholas and the Nayakas now seems to have become obsolete in warfare. At the head of the army there was the Dalavay and under him there were the new officers called the Subedars, each in charge of an administrative division and Killedars, each in charge of a fort.[2] The forts seem to have been scattered throughout the country. Under Dalavoy Manoji the army, kept in a state of high efficiency, became formidable alike in offence and defence. The Subedars and Killedars were expected to maintain a certain number of soldiers always in a state of readiness and to contribute their quota whenever called upon to do so by the Raja.

The old administrative divisions of the country which existed under the Chōḷas and the Nayakas, such as the Mandalams, the Nadus and the Kurrams had now become defunct, although occasional references to them are found in the inscriptions. The country now came to be divided for administrative purposes into Subhas, Simais, Maganams and villages. The Subedar was all in all. He exercised both military and civil powers; he not only acted as the military commander but also collected revenue, appointed panchayats for settling

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 77–79.
[2] *Idem*, pages 79–80.

disputes, and generally maintained law and order. There is, however, nothing to show who were his subordinates in civil administration in the Simais, the Maganams and the villages. But there is something to show that, wherever there were forts, the Killedars in charge of them exercised like him, civil powers as well. [1]

The administration of civil justice seems to have been almost entirely left to the panchayats. Where the parties, however, would not agree, the Subedar or the Killedar appointed arbitrators. An appeal lay from the panchayats and the arbitrators to the Raja. The Raja also received an abstract of the proceedings of the panchayats and the arbitrators every month and reserved to himself the right of reversing or modifying the decrees. While this was the system obtaining in the country, in the capital, however, some changes were made during the time of Pratap Singh and Amar Singh. Here, Pratap Singh appointed a single judge with an establishment of Kanakkupillais and muttsuddies for the purpose of registering decrees. An appeal lay from the judge to the Raja who generally referred the cases to his Sirkele or some other principal officer. The same system was continued in Tuljaji's reign, but in the reign of Amar Singh, on the recommendation of Schwartz, a regular court of justice called Ninus Mahal was constituted which consisted of a president and four judges. It sat daily, took cognizance of all civil cases in which the parties could not be prevailed upon to resort to arbitration by heads of castes and pronounced judgments according to the Shastras in open court. Even where the parties resorted to arbitration, the award of the arbitrators had to be openly read in this court. This court was entirely supported by the fees and fines that it levied. [2]

In criminal justice, the Raja was everywhere the sole authority. He ordered enquiries to be made and awarded suitable punishments, including capital punishment, according to the Shastras. [3] The police everywhere consisted of the Kavalkars (Watchmen) who were commonly recruited from the Kallars and the Padaiyachis, the emigrants from the south and the north. They were expected to protect the life and property of the inhabitants and to make good all losses arising from thefts. So long as the Rajas were strong and able to exercise an effective check over them by means of the Sibbendi (irregular forces), they seem to have discharged their duties efficiently. But when the Rajas became weak, in the later period, the Kavalkars became tyrants, began to levy black-mail on the people and terrorised the country. Taking advantage of the disbandment of the Sibbendi under the

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, page 80. Tanjore District Manual, page 432.

[2] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, pages 16–17.

[3] *Idem*, page 17.

Pattackdarry system of land revenue which was then introduced, they colluded with the Pattackdars and inflicted untold misery on the people.[1]

No reliable information is available about the system of land revenue administration followed by the early Rajas. It was, however, mostly a system of village settlements which were jointly made with the head mirasdars and in which the rates of assessment were high. The Sirkar's share was collected mostly in cash, and where it was collected in kind it was commuted into money at the prevailing market rates. In this as in the later period there was a constant struggle going on between the King's officers on the one hand and the mirasdars on the other, the former trying to collect and the latter trying to conceal as much produce as possible. Tuljaji seems to have endeavoured to put the village settlement on a regular basis, but in this he does not seem to have succeeded. The Nawab during the time of his occupation appointed an able person named Naro Pandit or Dabir Pandit and ordered him to frame a settlement. He did this and fixed his assessment called 'Dabir Muri' on the basis of old accounts and actual collections, but the Nawab found it difficult to enforce it. He therefore had recourse to the Amani system under which he appointed a number of village officers to estimate and check the produce and to collect the Sirkar's share on the spot. By this method, during the second year of his rule he collected, as has been seen, no less than eighty-one lakhs of rupees. When Tuljaji was restored to the throne, he too continued the Amani system finding it exceedingly advantageous to the State; but within a couple of years he had to give it up on account of the stubborn opposition of the mirasdars to the Dabir System. Shortly afterwards Hyder came and laid waste the whole of the Tanjore country; and to rehabilitate such parts of it as had been seriously affected, Tuljaji's Sirkele, Bava Pandit, introduced into those parts a new system known as the Pattackdarry system under which a number of villages, some good and some bad, were grouped together as a Pattackam and placed under a prominent landholder approved by the mirasdars but appointed by the Raja. The object of this system was to enable the Pattackdar to pool all resources, labourers, cattle, ploughs, seeds, etc., and thus to restore the prosperity of the ruined villages. The Pattackdar was expected to give a fixed lump sum as the Sirkar's share in return for which he was exempted from all Government interference by the abolition of all Sirkar servants. The Pattackdarry System achieved its object of restoring prosperity to the country. But it was only a temporary expedient and Bava intended to revert to the village system after a few years.

[1] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, pages 3-4.
Tanjore District Manual, pages 445-450.

Unfortunately, however, after Tuljiaji's death and the accession of Amar Singh, Siva Rao, an utterly incompetent Sirkele, made the system universal and permanent thereby making it impossible for the Sirkar at any time to collect its just dues. To make matters worse, the Pattackdars colluded with the Kavalkars and both began to oppress the people. It was at this time when oppression was rampant everywhere that the British assumed the country.[1]

The Sirkar's share, the melvaram, underwent alteration with every change of authority in Tanjore. It is said that, when Pratap Singh ascended the throne, the melvaram in the nunja (wet) lands was generally eighty per cent of the gross produce and in the case of Brahmins seventy per cent in the peshanam crop (crop raised in January and February) and fifty-five per cent in the car crop (crop raised in September and October).[2] It is, however, difficult to believe this, for, with a kudivaram of about twenty per cent or so, the mirasdars would have found it impossible to carry on cultivation unless they had invariably concealed produce or bribed the officials. Pratap Singh, Tuljaji and Amar Singh are credited with having increased the Kudivaram of the mirasdars with the result that in 1806 when the British occupied the country the mirasdars were said to be enjoying fifty to sixty per cent of the gross produce in punja (dry) lands and rain-fed lands and forty to forty-five per cent of the produce in the nunja lands, forty per cent in the peshanam and forty-five per cent in the car crop.[3] As to the tenures, there were three kinds of tenures in the country. Under the first kind, every mirasdar was separately assessed in the village and all mirasdars made, once in ten years, a general re-allotment of lands among themselves. The second kind of tenure was called Pasunkarai, the village system, in which the mirasdars of the whole village were jointly held responsible for the assessment. The third kind of tenure was that in which a mirasdar held a whole village under him and became solely responsible for the assessment. The agricultural labourers before Hyder's invasion were Harijan slaves whom the mirasdars, it is said, "bought and sold to each other as they did their cattle." Hyder's invasion drove these Harijans out of the country and they had therefore to be replaced by the people of inferior classes who were called Payakaris hailing from Tanjore itself and the neighbouring countries.[4]

Besides land revenue, the Rajas collected land and sea customs which amounted to a considerable sum. Tuljaji is stated to have collected more than one lakh of rupees from

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[1] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, pages 1–4.
Tanjore District Manual, pages 466–479.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 167–171.
[2] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, page 19.
[3] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K. R. S. Iyer, 1928, pages 90–91.
[4] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, page 23.

the Thiruvaiyar Subha alone. These revenues were farmed out to the highest bidders and these head-renters in turn farmed them to under-renters who stipulated to pay a certain fixed sum monthly to the head-renters. The head-renters bound themselves by a muchilika to the Government to pay a fine of double the amount of any sum levied unjustly by them and a similar muchilika bound the under-renters to the head-renters. The rates of customs were levied on recognized principles in respect of different classes of inhabitants and, being generally well known, were never objected to by the people.[1] In addition to the customs, the Rajas collected numerous petty and vexatious taxes such as the taxes on shops, looms, toddy, fishery and oil and cesses on country establishment charges, kavalkar charges, and village festival charges. The Rajas also secured rents from the foreign settlements of Nagapattinam, Karaikal and Tranquebar.[2]

Agriculture was naturally the primary occupation of the people. Besides those engaged in agriculture, there were the weavers who made all kinds of cloth for the local market and special kinds of cloth, such as a variety of beautiful silk and cotton carpets, for the Madras and European markets. They got sufficient indigo and nuna roots (for red dye) from the Tanjore country itself but imported cotton largely from Coimbatore and Salem. Next to weavers were brass and coppersmiths who did excellent metal work both for the home and foreign markets. Nowhere, it is said, was metal work done so neatly, so finely and so tastefully as in Tanjore.[3]

The part played by the Rajas in the field of literature, fine arts, medicine and philosophy has already been described, while dealing with their individual reigns. This much may be said here that Sanskrit and Telugu, painting and architecture, music and dancing and Indian medicine and Advaita philosophy, one and all, eminently flourished in the Maharashtra period. To this period also belongs the Saraswathi Mahal Library, a vast collection of valuable books and manuscripts upon all sorts of subjects, scientific, literary and philosophical.[4] In the domain of religion, we do not come across in this period the construction of any great temples comparable to the temples of the Chōḷa and Nayaka periods. But we find the construction of a large number of chatrams, some of them handsomely endowed and all of them intended for the gratuitous feeding and accommodation of the weary pilgrims. Among these chatrams, the most well known are Pratap Singh's chatrams at Tanjore, Manamelkudi and Nidamangalam, Tuljaji's

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[1] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, pages 24–25.
[2] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Iyer, 1928, page 89.
[3] Report of the Tanjore Commissioners, 1799, pages 25–26.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Volume I, 1915, pages 125–126.
[4] Peeps into Saraswati Mahal by S. Gopalan, 1953.

chatrams at Minpesal, Darasaram, Ammachatram, and Rajamatam, Sarabhoji's chatram at Orattanad and Sivaji's chatram at Tanjore. [1]

The Rajas showed tolerance towards all religions and permitted, and even assisted Christianity to take root in Tanjore. The only Raja who is said to have persecuted the Christians was Shahji, but even his so-called persecution never left any scar on Christianity. He seems to have only tried to restrain the vindictive, underhand evangelical methods employed by the missionaries. The history of the Danish mission in Tanjore shows more than anything else the tolerance and breadth of outlook of the Rajas. Only a few years after the arrival of the Danish mission when it was under Grundler, Sarabhoji I showed a friendly attitude towards it and allowed it every facility to carry on its work. The well-known German Missionary Schwartz, as we know, was both loved and respected by Tuljaji and Sarabhoji II. [2]

Little is known about the society in general under the rule of the Rajas. The people seem to have, at any rate, in the early period managed their affairs in the villages without much interference from the Government. [3] But they seem to have, nonetheless, made themselves felt upon all important matters, when there was real necessity. It was the people, it will be recollected, who drove out Katturaja, the usurper, and installed Pratap Singh on the throne. There is also evidence to show that they put up a bold front against any exactions from the Government officials. [4] As to the Rajas, it is known that they practised polygamy, that they had more than one wife and several mistresses, that their seraglios such as the Kalyana Mahal and Mangalavilas were planned on a grand scale, that many of these women were noted not only for their beauty but also for their accomplishments such as skill in music and dancing and that some of them committed Sati. [5]

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[1] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Iyer, 1928, page 84. Tanjore District Manual, pages 230–239.
[2] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Iyer, 1928, pages 85–88.
[3] *Idem*, page 80.
[4] Military Consultations, 20th July 1798, Vol. 240-B, pages 4558–4559.
[5] The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore by K.R.S. Iyer, 1928, pages 23–24, 40, 57, 66.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE.

The rise of nationalism in the Tanjore district coincided more or less with the dawn of the present century. Before 1900 there were very few signs here of political consciousness; but after 1900 many things occurred in quick succession showing in no uncertain manner the gradual but steady growth of national feeling until at last it culminated in the epic fight for political freedom.

Nationalism in its early phases in this district manifested itself in open attacks in the press on the British administration. Thus between 1900 and 1910 the extremists on several occasions strongly criticised and even condemned the actions of the Government officials in the English as well as the Indian language newspapers of this State. The two newspapers which helped them most to ventilate their grievances were the Swadesamitran and the Hindu both of which were then edited and inspired by the distinguished native of the Tanjore district, Sri G. Subramania Aiyar, who had represented Madras even at the first session of the Indian National Congress in 1885. To give only a few examples of the nature of the propaganda made in the press, in 1906 when the Swadesi movement caused by the partition of Bengal was at its height, complaints were made in the Swadesamitran about the police search of a swadesi shop at Kumbakonam and about the police enquiries regarding the collection of subscriptions for the National Fund started at Madras. [1] In 1907 in the same newspaper, the action of the District Magistrate in prohibiting the celebration of the Sivaji festival at Tanjore was condemned and it was suggested that the people of Tanjore should take up the matter before the Madras High Court just as the people of Calcutta had taken up a similar matter before the Calcutta High Court and got a decision in their favour. [2] In 1908 when only some 500 rupees were spent by the people over the Governor's tour to Kumbakonam, the Swadesamitran deemed it necessary to interfere and ask, "Where are the extremists of Tanjore now? What is Mr. N. K. Ramaswami Ayyar doing? Is it not their doctrine that the people should not pay their respects to the Governor and other English officials? There is no use talking loud, they must show their manliness in action." [3] And it is stated that as the Governor did not take notice of the distress prevailing in the

[1] Newspaper Reports, 1906, pages 190–191.
[2] *Idem*, 1907, page 184.
[3] *Idem*, 1908, page 77.

district on account of the rise in the prices of foodstuffs, some of the patriots, in order to show their resentment at his indifference, collected contributions from the public for helping the poor in honour of the release of Sri Bepin Chandra Pal.[1] In the same year *The Swadesamitran* condemned the action of the Police Inspector of Mayuram for causing disturbance during a lecture delivered by a person named Muthiadoss, for caning the members of the audience and for calling Sri S. Subramania Ayyar of Salem "a beggar". The police, the paper said, had sold themselves to the Government and become their slaves: they had come to regard the people as their enemies and to tease them in every way for securing promotion.[2] In 1910 when Mr. J. P. Bedford, the Collector of Tanjore, was transferred, a Tanjore correspondent complained about him in *The Hindu* and remarked that now that he was going away, the people would heave a sigh of relief "even in the troubled atmosphere of these times."[3]

While those who held extreme opinions questioned, assailed and discredited the British Government in the press, those who held all sorts of opinions from the most extreme to the most moderate met on a common platform in Tanjore and agitated for political as well as administrative reforms. Between 1907 and 1913 District Conferences were annually held in the various towns of the district for creating a political consciousness among the people. A Provincial Conference of the Indian National Congress was also held at Kumbakonam in 1912. These Conferences were presided over by eminent men like Sri P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar who later became the Advocate-General and a Member of the Executive Council, Sri G. Subramania Aiyar, the Congressite editor of *The Hindu* and *The Swadesamitran*, Sri T. Rangachari, who subsequently became a prominent nationalist politician and Vice-President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Sri T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar a distinguished educationist and Member of the Madras Legislative Council, Sri P. Kesava Pillai of Gooty, a member of the Madras Legislative Council and Sri V. P. Madhava Rao, the retired Dewan of Mysore. These Conferences organized by the local leaders of all communities, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Muslims alike, discussed a large number of important matters affecting the welfare of not only the district but also the whole of India. The attainment of Swaraj (Responsible Government), the boycott of foreign cloth and foreign goods, the encouragement of swadesi cloth and swadesi goods, the establishment of swadesi industries, the revival of panchayats and the eradication of the drink evil, all these loomed large in their discussions. Their discussions also centred upon matters like extension of franchise, the increase of elected

1 Newspaper Reports, 1908, page 99.
2 *Idem*, page 337.
3 *Idem*, 1910, page 468.

members in the legislature, the separation of the executive and the judiciary, the introduction of compulsory primary education, the reform of municipal, taluk board and district board administration, the appointment of district advisory councils, the establishment of co-operative credit societies, co-operative banks and co-operative stores, the prevention of Indian emigration to Natal, Transvaal and other foreign places, the abolition of forest reserves near the villages and the reforms in trial by jury, in land revenue assessment, in water rates, in irrigation, etc. All these matters were precisely similar to the matters discussed at the various sessions of the Indian National Congress.[1]

The tone of the speeches made at these conferences was usually moderate but at times it became extreme, eloquent and insistent as when Sri G. Subramania Aiyar addressed the Second District Conference in 1908. He spoke of the high-handed action of the British Government, of their repressive measures, of the "summary deportation of some of our leaders", of the revival of "obsolete ordinances", of the prohibition of public meetings, of the "crusade against our swadesi efforts" and of the "persistent misrepresentation of the Anglo-Indian press." He insisted on unity in the ranks of the Congress and deplored the split that had occurred between the moderates and the extremists at its Surat session. He exhorted all parties to work together for the common cause, for achieving the four articles of the Indian political creed, namely, swadesi, boycott of foreign goods, national education and swaraj. He deprecated the mania for Government service and advised the younger generation to take to indigenous industries like weaving, metal work, pith work, etc., for which Tanjore was once famous.[2]

The resolutions passed by these conferences were generally forwarded to the Government, but the Government hardly took any notice of them. There is, however, evidence to show that the leaders of these conferences knew only too well that the Government would be indifferent. Their main object was to rouse the political consciousness of the people and this they seem to have done in some measure through the delegates and others who attended the conferences and through the publicity given to their proceedings in the press. As may be expected, some dissentient voices belittled these conferences. Some questioned the motives behind their organizers and described the whole movement as one intended to benefit the Brahmins and vakils. Some others again tried to make

[1] G.O. No. 522, Public, dated 3rd July 1907.
G.O. No. 799, Public, dated 13th October 1909.
G.O. No 328, Public, dated 30th March 1911.
Report of the 19th Madras Provincial Conference held at Kumbakonam in 1912.

[2] G.O. No. 799, Public, dated 13th October 1909, pages 11–27 of the printed report.

out that the people were utterly unconcerned about political reforms, that it was the educated classes who wanted them and created discontent.[1] Meanwhile the first World War broke out in 1914. The annual conferences receded into the background but the national consciousness was kept awake and even made stronger by the Home Rule movement launched by Mrs. Annie Besant and the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat movements that followed it.[2]

The Home Rule Movement which agitated Madras in 1915–1918 had for its objects, swadesi, boycott of foreign goods, temperance, national education and Home Rule (Responsible Government), objects, it will be seen, similar in essence to those of the Congress[3]. It captured the imagination of many intellectuals, young and old alike, and carried on propaganda through the numerous branches of the Theosophical Lodges scattered in the State.[4] It also resulted in processions, speeches and students' strikes in schools and colleges. In Tanjore it was headed by Sri V. K. Ramanujachari, Chairman of the Kumbakonam Municipality and Member of the Madras Legislative Council.[5] Mrs. Annie Besant herself came down to Tanjore in May 1917 to bless the movement and to carry on propaganda on its behalf.[6] On her internment with her associates Mr. Wadia and Mr. Arundale in June, several public meetings of protests were held in the district and processions were taken out, although licences were ref[illegible]ed in some cases by the authorities. In Kumbakonam, the [illegible]ternment day was celebrated by a grand procession f[illegible] town hall to the Nageswaraswami temple, carrying t[illegible] [illegible]graphs of the interned leaders and waving the Home [illegible] the [illegible], followed, it is said, "by the largest mass meeting [illegible] inclement weather.[7]" On her release Mrs. Annie [illegible] came to Tanjore once again in 1918 to carry on propa[illegible]a. Propaganda was also carried on for Home Rule a[illegible]ng the labourers of the South Indian Railway Workshops a[illegible] [illegible]agapattinam by leaders like Sri P. Varadarajulu Naidu, [illegible]T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, Sri V. K. Ramanujachari [illegible] others.[8] Speeches were also made at this time [illegible] Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Sri Bepin Chandra Pal and [illegible] V. O. Chidambaram Pillai in support of the Home Rule [illegible]vement.[9] All this propaganda in the district contributed [illegible] a little to keep alive the national aspirations of the people.

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[1] Newspaper Reports, 1913, pages 1396–1397, 1406.
[2] For an account of the latter, see Histories of the Non-Co-operation and [illegible]lafat Movements by P. C. Bamford (Confidential), 1925.
[3] G.O. Nos. 842–843, Public (Confidential), dated 15th September 1918—[illegible] the newspaper cuttings.
[4] *Idem.*
[5] Papers relating to Mrs. Besant, Vol. 8, pages 65–68, 83.
[6] G.O. Nos. 842–843, Public (Confidential), dated 15th September 1918, [illegible]ge 1.
[7] Papers relating to Mrs. Besant, Vol. 8, pages 65–68, 83.
[8] H[illegible]tory of the Labour Unions in the Madras Presidency, 1918–1919, [illegible]-10.
[9] [illegible]ortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 18th May 1918.

Before the Home Rule Movement cooled down, there were started two other movements of greater national significance, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat Movements. These All-India Movements which emerged during the First World War of 1914–1918 took the whole country by storm and gave a permanent character to nationalism. It is, however, not pertinent to trace here their origin and development. Suffice it to state that the arrival of Gandhiji from South Africa after his successful prosecution of the Satyagraha campaign (1915), the capture of the Congress by the extremists at its Lucknow Session (1916), the declaration of war by England and her allies against Turkey(1914), the endangering thereby of the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa (hence the Khilafat), the occupation of the holy places of the Muslims in Asia Minor and Arabia by the Allies and the enemies of the Khalifa, and finally, the passing of what is known as the Rowlatt Bills (1919) which armed the Government with powers of arrest and detention without trial of persons suspected of anti-Government activities, all these combined to draw the Hindus and Muslims as well as the Congress and the Muslim League together and enabled leaders like Gandhiji, Sri Shaukat Ali and Sri Muhammad Ali to start the nation-wide Non-Co-operation and Khilafat agitation.

In February 1919 Gandhiji, who had by no[illegible] unquestioned leader of the Hindus as well as [illegible] launched the famous Satyagraha campaign by [illegible] co-operation with the Government and passive [illegible] the Government were preached everywhere with [illegible] vigour. Shortly afterwards he came down [illegible] tour to the South and visited Tanjore on [illegible] Mar[illegible] rece[illegible] addressed an open air meeting at Besant Lod[illegible] preside[illegible] by Sri V. P. Madhava Rao, the Retired Dewan of Mysore. [illegible] this meeting, he explained that Satyagraha or Civil dis[illegible] dience signified "the force of truth or the force of soul," [illegible] its acceptance meant the rejection of all physical viol[illegible] and that, in view of the Viceroy's assent to the Rowlatt [illegible] No. II which had just then been given, all people who since[illegible] worked for Swaraj should make it a point to observe 6th A[illegible] as a day of fast, hartal and peaceful meetings.[1] Accordin[illegible] on 6th April processions carrying his photograph w[illegible] taken through all the streets of Tanjore,archanas were offe[illegible] at the big temple and a public meeting was held.[2] Gand[illegible] visited Tanjore again in Sri August 1920 with Shaukat Ali[3] a[illegible] in September 1921[4] alone, for carrying on propaganda for [illegible]

[1] G.O. No. 222, Public (Confidential), dated 24th April 1919—See new[illegible] paper cutting, dated 26th March 1919.

[2] *Idem*—See cutting, dated 6th April 1919.

[3] Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements in the Madras Presiden[illegible] (Confidential), page 4.

[4] *Idem*, page 15.

Non-Co-operation and Khilafat movements. During the 1920 visit, Sri Shaukat Ali made a stirring speech advocating Non-Co-operation and observing that it was the religious duty of every Muslim " be he rich or poor or a civil, police or military servant of the Government " to cut off all connections with that Government, since that Government was refusing to give back their religious places and to restore the power of the Khalifa.[1] In August 1921 the Khilafat and the Non-Co-operation Movements were justified and emphasised by Sri Yakub Hasan, a prominent Muslim leader, in his presidential address to the annual session of the Madras Provincial Conference held at Tanjore.[2]

The effects of these movements soon began to be felt in the district. The Congress strengthened its organizations at the district headquarters and in the taluks and began to carry on regular national propaganda. The Khilafat agitation led to the resignation of several Muslim honorary magistrates and municipal councillors,[3] to the publication of a virulent Tamil pamphlet (which was proscribed) by a Muslim moulvi of Mayuram advocating the complete boycott of British rule and the speedy consummation of Swaraj,[4] and to the formation in Tanjore of a corps of volunteers' organization called the Servants of Islam and consisting of some 300 to 500 Muslim youths.[5] The Non-Co-operation agitation led to much propaganda against Council entry at the time of the elections to the Reformed Council, and more propaganda against the Kumbakonam Municipality both in and outside the municipal council which eventually ended in a riot (1921) caused by a strike against that municipality for its levy of certain licence fees.[6] It also led to the initiation of an anti-drink campaign, to the cutting of the spathes of coconut trees and to the burning of toddy shops at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Madras on 13th January 1922.[7] There is evidence to show that by the end of 1921, 38 persons were prosecuted for seditious speeches and picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops as a result of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat agitation in the district.[8]

Meanwhile the awakening of political consciousness led to the introduction of the Morley-Minto (1909) and the

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[1] Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements (Confidential), page 37.
[2] G.O. No. 618, Public (Confidential), dated 19th September 1921.
[3] G.O. No. 322, Public, dated 25th May 1921.
[4] G.O. No. 708, Public (Confidential), dated 2nd September 1922.
[5] Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements in the Madras Presidency, (Confidential), page 47.
[6] G.O. No. 200, Public, dated 8th April 1921.
G.O. No. 300, Public, dated 14th May 1921.
G.O. No. 654, Public, dated 29th September 1921.
G.O. No. 139, Public, dated 14th February 1922.
G.O. No. 707, Public (Confidential), dated 2nd September 1922.
[7] G.O. No. 255, Public, dated 21st March 1922.
[8] *Idem.*

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Montague-Chelmsford Reforms (1919). By the Morley-Minto Reforms the Madras Legislative Council secured more members, both nominated and elected, and also the right of asking questions and criticizing the doings of the executive. Resolutions could be moved, points of order could be raised and notes could be taken. Nevertheless, the resolutions passed by the Council were not binding on the executive Government, nor had the council any effective control over any department of the Government. By the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms the powers of the Legislative Council and the proportion of elected members in it were increased and a system of dyarchy in the executive Government was set up. Provincial subjects were classified as "reserved" and "transferred" and while the former were administered by the Governor in Council, the latter were administered by the Governor acting with Ministers appointed from and responsible to the Legislative Council.

The introduction of these Reforms brought in its wake other parties than the Home Rule and the Congress Parties. The Chief of these parties in the South was no other than the Non-Brahmin Party which came to the called the South Indian Liberal Federation or the Justice Party. This party was equally nationalistic in its outlook as the Congress and Home Rule parties. Self-Government was as much its goal as the goal of the Congress and the Home Rule parties. But it was more moderate, more liberal as its name implies, and it hoped to attain this goal gradually by constitutional methods. It came into being in this State towards the end of 1916 and gathered strength gradually during the Home Rule, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat agitations. Its first pillars were Sri P. Theagaraya Chetty, President of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, the oldest member of the Corporation of Madras and an ex-Legislative Councillor, and Dr. T. M. Nair, both of whom enjoyed the confidence of several Non-Brahmins. In December 1916, Sri Theagaraya Chetty issued a manifesto attacking the Home Rule Movement in trenchant language, charging it with being a scheme devised by the Brahmins who were not content with having secured the practical monopoly of political power and high Government appointments and calling upon all the Non-Brahmins to assert and press their claims against the domination of the Brahmins. The party thus ushered into this State was backed by a journal called "The Non-Brahmin" and, shortly afterwards, by a newspaper of its own called "The Justice" with Dr. T. M. Nair as editor and Sri Theagaraya Chetty as publisher. The party lost no time in making propaganda. In April 1918 it held a largely attended Non-Brahmin Conference at Tanjore the principal feature of which was a speech made by Dr. Nair. Some excitement was caused by the publication of printed Tamil pamphlets attacking the Brahmin caste and these leaflets,

though disowned by the Justice Party leaders, formed the subject of a Brahmin protest meeting. Indeed what gave the Justice Party strength was the appeal which it made to the large sections of Non-Brahmins that the predominance of the Brahmin leaders in the Home Rule and the Congress movements and the over representation of the Brahmins in the services were serious matters demanding the notice of all the Non-Brahmins. It was this appeal combined with its moderate views on Reforms that made this Party carry on propaganda with some effect against the Home Rule and the Non-Co-operation movements and co-operate with the Government. The Reforms of 1919 were by no means entirely palatable to this party. When they were on the anvil and even afterwards, it agitated for separate electorates for the Non-Brahmins and for communal representation for them in the services as well as educational institutions. But after the Reforms were introduced, although they failed to set up separate electorates for the Non-Brahmins, it accepted office and tried to work the Reforms with as much co-operation with the British as was possible. No wonder, with views such as these, in Tanjore it kept aloof from all agitation in favour of the Home Rule, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat Movements and opposed and criticised them, whenever opportunities arose. No wonder that here too it insisted upon separate representation for Non-Brahmins in the Reform Scheme, protested against the appointment of Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as a member of the Franchise Committee and urged in his stead the appointment of Dr. T. M. Nair and Sri P. Theagaraya Chetty [1].

When all this agitation and counter-agitation were going on, the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat Movements suddenly came to an end. The Congress split over the question of Council entry and the Muslims beheld with dismay the abolition of the Khalifa by Kemal Pasha, the great deliverer of Turkey. Still the agitation for Swaraj continued. In 1927, on the eve of the arrival of the Simon Commission, the Congress held its annual session in Madras and passed resolutions supporting independence as India's true goal and advocating the boycott of the Commission. The Khilafat Conference which was held in Madras at the same time endorsed the decision to boycott the Commission. The Justice Party also refused to

[1] G.O. No. 339, Public, dated 17th April 1918.
G.O. Nos. 854–855, Public, dated 19th September 1918.
G.O. No. 980, Public, dated 31st October 1918.
G.O. Nos. 1019–1020, Public, dated 7th November 1918.
G.O. No. 142, Public (Confidential), dated 28th February 1920.
G.O. No. 155, Public, dated 6th March 1920.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 1st January 1917.
Do. 1st March 1917.
Do. 2nd April 1917.
Do. 2nd November 1917.
Do. 19th April 1918.
Do. 1st May 1918.

co-operate with the Commission, unless an authoritative declaration was made giving the Committees of the Legislatures an effective voice in the shaping of the decisions of the Commission. An effective propaganda was made by Mrs. Besant, Sri S. Satyamurthi and Sri S. Srinivasa Ayyangar to make the boycott a success, and the boycott made an impression in Madras [1].

In the Tanjore district the agitation for Swaraj manifested itself in some of its typical forms. Here several local bodies began to present addresses of welcome to the Congress leaders and attempted to hoist the national flags over municipal buildings [2]. Persistent propaganda in the press was carried on by the *Sutandiran*, a Tamil Weekly, advocating the overthrow of the British rule and the attainment of Swaraj. The Government contemplated the prosecution of the Editor of this weekly, but the Advocate-General held that the articles were not sufficiently seditious to warrant prosecution [3]. Speeches were delivered all over the district explaining and urging the need for Swaraj. In 1924 a Conference was held at Mannargudi by the Congress Party to which several prominent leaders like Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Sri S. Satyamurthi and Sri K. Santanam were invited. The Government prohibited some of these leaders from taking part in this conference, but before the order of prohibition could be served, Sri S. Satyamurthi attended the Conference and delivered his speech.[4] About this time also the mirasidars of Tanjore having started a no-tax campaign as a protest against the enhanced re-settlement rates, the Congress Party took the side of the mirasidars and one of the leading mirasidars and a staunch Congress worker, Sri Chinnaya Pillai, addressed several public meetings making powerful speeches supporting the no-tax campaign until he was prosecuted and convicted.[5] The Congress Party likewise took up the cause of labour and in 1926, when the Railway Workshop was removed from Nagapattinam to Tiruchirappalli, induced the Railway workers to go on strike. The workers demanded higher wages and other benefits and threatened to resort to Satyagraha, unless their demands were complied with ; and this compelled the Government to take precautionary measures and to get the

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[1] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 16th November 1927.
Do. 2nd December 1927.
Do. 16th December 1927.
Do. 7th January 1928.
Do. 18th January 1928.
Do. 3rd February 1928.
Do. 17th February 1928.
Do. 2nd March 1928.

[2] G.O. No. 316, Public (Confidential), dated 30th April 1924, page 13, 66–67.

[3] G.O. No. 472, Public (Confidential), dated 7th July 1924.

[4] G.O. No. 853, Public, dated 5th December 1924.
G.O. No. 236, Public, dated 4th March 1925.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 2nd June 1924.

[5] G.O. No. 866, Public (Confidential), dated 11th February 1924.

dispute settled somehow by the Labour Commissioner.[1] In 1928 when the Simon Commission visited Tanjore some demonstration was made against it ineffectually at Tanjore but more effectually at Thiruvaiyar.[2] In 1929 the annual session of the Tamil Nad Conference was held at Vedaranyam at which Sri Vallabh Bhai Patel, one of the prominent leaders of the Congress, presided[3].

We now come to what is called the Civil Disobedience Movement, the powerful political weapon forged by Gandhiji and introduced at the Lahore Session of the Congress in December 1929. The Resolution on this movement framed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the rising leader of India, and issued on behalf of the Congress Working Committee, charged the British Government with having not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but also "ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually" and declared in emphatic terms that "India must", therefore, "sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence." The way to Swaraj, it further declared, was not through violence but through civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes.[4] A manifesto like this issued to the numerous Congress organizations throughout India and a movement like this led by no less a leader than Gandhiji could not but be expected to produce widespread political agitation. A wave of nationalism, the like of which had never been witnessed before, spread over the whole of India and the Congress leaders everywhere began to organize mass meetings, salt satyagraha, no-tax campaigns, boycott of the Government and village servants, boycott of British goods, boycott of liquor shops, the seducing of troops and police from loyalty to the Government and anti-Government propaganda[5]. The Government for the first time realized the national significance of the movement and introduced a series of repressive laws to meet the extraordinary situation[6].

The movement in Madras, as elsewhere, first took the form of salt satyagraha or the violation of salt laws which were considered to be the most iniquitous and oppressive to the poor. And in Tamil Nad Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Gandhiji's right hand man in the South and President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, came forward to lead the movement and chose Vedaranyam as the chief scene of operations. Vedaranyam seems to have been chosen, because it was the place where Sri Vallabh Bhai Patel had so recently as 1929 presided over

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[1] G.O. No. 691, Public (Confidential), dated 1st August 1927.
[2] The Civil Disobedience Movement (Madras), 1930–31, (Confidential), page 156.
[3] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 17th March 1928.
[4] The Civil Disobedience Movement (India), 1930–34, pages 29–30.
[5] *Idem*, page 1.
[6] *Idem*, pages 4–8, 15–16.

the Tamil Nad Congress Conference, because it was favourably situated near the Agastyampalli Salt factory and the well-known salt swamp producing natural salt in abundance, because it was the home of Sri Vedaratnam Pillai, an active Congress worker and because it was a place of pilgrimage and the march to it would invest the whole campaign with a religious significance. [1]

Gandhiji began his famous march to Dandi on 12th March 1930 and in the same month Sri Rajagopalachari issued an appeal for funds and volunteers and toured through Tanjore addressing meetings at various places to prepare the ground for his march. Volunteers flocked to his standard from several districts in this State. He then sent an advance guard to go along the route of the march in order to arrange for accommodation and supplies at suitable halts and to rouse the sympathies of the people. In this as in all other work connected with the campaign he found able lieutenants in Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, Secretary to the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Mrs. Lakshmipathi, the Organizer of the Madras League of Youth, Sri Panthulu Ayyar, a former member of the Legislative Council and a man of position and repute of Kumbakonam, and in some other Congress workers. The march was planned to begin from Tiruchirappalli, the headquarters of the Congress, and to pass through the Grand Anicut and Thiruvaiyar to Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Mannargudi, Tiruthuraipundi and from there to Vedaranyam [2]

The district authorities became not a little perturbed over these preparations, especially since the Government had issued no instructions as to how to deal with the situation and had, on the other hand, ordered that Sri Rajagopalachari should not be arrested until he actually broke the salt law. This meant that he and his party had to be allowed to pass through the district unmolested till they reached Vedaranyam. Mr. J. A. Thorne, the energetic District Magistrate, however, did all he could to obstruct, if not to prevent, the march by making it widely known that anybody who offered any assistance in the way of accommodation or supplies to the party or its volunteers would be prosecuted under section 157 of the Indian Penal Code. In spite of this, however, the march began on the scheduled date, 13th April 1930. On that day Sri Rajagopalachari with a party of ninety-nine picked satyagrahis started from Tiruchirappalli and arrived on the 14th morning at Koviladi. Here he found the famous chatram barred and bolted against him, but he was not discomfited. He found some accommodation in a private house, while his

[1] The Civil Disobedience Movement (Madras), 1930–1931 (Confidential), page 156.

[2] *Idem*, pages 156–158.

party made themselves comfortable on the river bed. This was the only place where Mr. Thorne's tactics succeeded. Thereafter Sri Rajagopalachari and his party met welcome at Thiruvaiyar, Tanjore and Kumbakonam and jubilant welcome from Kumbakonam onwards. In the words of Mr. Thorne, "Sri Rajagopalachari had something of a triumph, even Muhammadans and Adi-Dravidas taking part in the receptions." At Mannargudi, Tiruthuraipundi and Vedaranyam he found the places gaily decorated to receive him. He arrived at Vedaranyam on 28th March. The way in which this march was conducted extorted the admiration of the authorities. Mr. Thorne reported that Sri Rajagopalachari throughout maintained excellent discipline among his followers, that he exercised complete control over them and that he always maintained non-violence, preached with moderation and "refrained from the arts of demogogy [1]."

As may be expected the effect of this march on the officials was most depressing. It roused the national fervour of the people against which they found themselves helpless. The people also boycotted them [2]. On 29th March the party fasted and prayed and on the 30th Sri Rajagopalachari led a contingent of satyagrahis into the swamp and began to collect salt. He was immediately arrested, tried, convicted and sent on train to Tiruchirappalli. But his mantle at once fell on Sri K. Santanam and under their new leader the volunteers began to collect salt in various parties and gave a good deal of trouble to the police. When the police forcibly seized the salt collected, they simply went on collecting still more salt until Sri Santanam and Sri Vedaratnam Pillai were arrested and sentenced. Mrs. Lakshmipathi, the only woman among some 200 men, now became their leader and carried on brisk propaganda in the quarters of the police and the salt peons. More and more volunteers had by now arrived and the salt season had passed. The volunteers therefore turned their attention to holding meetings and, when their meetings were prohibited and forcibly dispersed, they split up into a number of camps round the swamp, making it difficult for the police to watch their actions. Meanwhile, the Government gave complete discretion to the District Magistrates to put down the Satyagraha by wholesale arrests, if necessary. Mr. Thorne made full use of these powers and arrested not only Mrs. Lakshmipathi and all the volunteers of the camp, but also Dr. Rajan who was all the time directing the operations from Tiruchirappalli but who had just then made a flying visit to Vedaranyam. This was towards the end of May [3]. From

[1] The Civil Disobedience Movement (Madras), 1930–1931 (Confidential), pages 158–163.

[2] *Idem*, pages 163–164.

[3] *Idem*, pages 163–166.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 18th June 1930.

that time onwards the movement took the form of individual propaganda and picketing of toddy shops until October when it practically came to an end in the district. It may be stated here that the total number of persons sent to jail in the district was about 375.[1] It may also be stated here that the Civil Disobedience Movement was everywhere called off on 5th March 1931 by the settlement reached by Gandhiji with Lord Irwin, the Viceroy. By this settlement the Congress agreed to participate in the discussions on political reforms in London and called off the Civil Disobedience and the British Government agreed to withdraw all the repressive ordinances banning the Congress bodies, etc., and to release all prisoners convicted in connection with the movement.[2]

The Salt Satyagraha campaign led by Sri Rajagopalachari in Tanjore, as the British themselves avowed, was "the biggest organized effort," in support of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the Tamil districts. It taught the people to set the law at defiance and made the Government realize for the first time the depth of national feeling among the people.[3] It is of some interest to note here the views of Mr. Thorne. An " annoying feature " of the campaign, he reported, was the attitude of certain local bodies. They behaved, he complained, as if they were unconcerned about the troubles with which the Government were faced, as if they were at perfect liberty to criticise and condemn the conduct of officials and to express devotion to their political leaders. This state of affairs, he went on, could be set right only after threatening disciplinary action against " unruly local bodies"[4]. And he remarked that, though the movement did not originate in Tanjore, " it must not be presumed from this that the standard of loyalty in the district is high. If there ever existed a fervid sense of devotion to the Government, it is now defunct."[5] This is an eloquent testimony to the national spirit of the people of Tanjore.

The Civil Disobedience Movement was started again by Gandhiji and the Congress early in January 1932 on account of the repressive Ordinances passed by the Government to put down agitation in the North-West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan), in the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) and in Bengal.[6] But even before this movement was initiated, an extensive propaganda against prohibition was carried on in Tanjore.

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[1] The Civil Disobedience Movement (Madras), 1930–1931, (Confidential), page 167.

[2] The Civil Disobedience Movement (India), 1930–34, (Confidential), page 9.

[3] *Idem*, pages 2, 15–16.

[4] *Idem*, page 167.

[5] *Idem*, page 155.

[6] *Idem*, page 16.

In July-August 1931 large-scale picketing of sales of toddy shop leases and of toddy shops took place at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Sirkali and Arantangi which gave the Government a good deal of trouble.[1] During the second period of the Civil Disobedience Movement when the Government declared all the Congress organizations of the district unlawful and seized all their buildings and funds under the Unlawful Ordinance No. 4 of 1932, the movement naturally went underground but did not remain quiescent.[2] Two pamphlets in Tamil called *Sardar Bhagat Singh* and *Uppu Satyagraha Pattugal* (Salt Satyagraha songs), both anti-Government publications, were issued from Mannargudi and Tanjore and both were proscribed by the Government.[3] In 1933 thousands of maunds of salt were collected from the Vedaranyam salt pans not only for personal use by the nearby villagers (which was permitted under the Gandhi-Irwin pact) but also by distant villagers and towns-people for trade purposes, setting the law at defiance. The Government then withdrew the salt concessions in the Pattukkottai and Tiruthuraipundi taluks.[4] A spirit of wrathful defiance filled the air until the Civil Disobedience was finally called off by Gandhiji and the Congress in April–May 1934 and the Unlawful Association Ordinances were cancelled by the Government.[5]

During all this time, from the end of the Non-Co-operation Movement to the end of the Civil Disobedience Movement, other parties in the State were not idle. The Justice Party, although it co-operated with the British in running the dyarchy, now began to demand full provincial autonomy and Indianisation of services. This Party, under leaders like the Raja of Panagal and Sri A. P. Patro, having run the Ministry till 1926, was defeated by the Swaraj Party (the party of the Congress which believed in Council entry) in the elections held in that year. But the Swaraj Party, though it had a majority, refused to form the ministry and, as a result, an Independent Ministry under Dr. P. Subbarayan having the support of the Swaraj Party was formed. The Justice Party tried to unseat this ministry by a vote of no-confidence in the Legislative Council but the motion was defeated by the Swaraj Party. And yet, the Justice Party did not lose

[1] G.O. No. 127, Public (Confidential), dated 21st January 1932.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 18th June 1931.
Do. do. 18th September 1931.
Do. do. 18th December 1931.

[2] G.O. Nos. 51-S and 52-S, Public (Confidential), dated 15th January 1932.
G.O. No. 155, Public (Confidential), dated 27th January 1932.
G.O. No. 119-S, Public (Confidential), dated 3rd February 1932.
G.O. No. 609, Public, dated 11th June 1934.

[3] G.O. No. 286, Public (Confidential), dated 19th February 1932.
G.O. No. 303, Public (Confidential), dated 22nd February 1932.

[4] G.O. No. 78, Public (Confidential), dated 20th January 1933.

[5] G.O. No. 609, Public, dated 11th June 1934.

heart. It condemned the scheme of dyarchy, demanded complete provincial autonomy and allowed its individual members to enter the Congress with the object of swamping the Congress and working on the feelings of Non-Brahmins inside the Congress. As a result of this, some of the prominent Justicites joined the Congress. And in the 1930 elections, the Congress (both the Congress Party and the Swaraj Party) having refused to stand for the elections, it easily obtained a majority and again formed a ministry, this time headed by Sri B. Muniswamy Naidu. This Ministry was succeeded in 1932 by the Ministry of the Raja of Bobbili. Meanwhile, finding from the elections that the Non-Brahmins had little to fear politically from the Brahmins, it threw open its membership to the Brahmins with a view to strengthening its organization. But it was of no avail. In the 1934 elections the Justice Party was completely defeated by the Congress, the Congress having now lifted the ban on Council entry and won every seat that it contested. During these elections effective propaganda for the Congress Party was made in Tanjore by Sri Vedaratnam Pillai. The Congress, however, did not accept office and accordingly a Justice Party Ministry under the Raja of Bobbili was again formed.[1]

It was also during this period that the Self-Respect and the Communist Movements came into existence. The former which was a Non-Brahmin movement had the backing of the Justice Party. Originally started for the purpose of abolishing caste distinctions, it gradually drifted towards Communism and began to attack religion and property.[2] The latter which received a fillip by the visit of Sri Saklatwala, a prominent Labour leader, to Madras (1927) gave rise to several associations of workers. It refused to have anything to do with the Congress and denounced the Congress as "the stronghold of landlordism, capitalism and private ownership." The Congress found it impossible to conciliate the Communists who organized several strikes in Madras and elsewhere.[3] One of these strikes originated in Nagapattinam (1928) and soon led to a general strike in the South Indian Railway and resulted in acts of sabotage and a number of railway accidents.[4]

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[1] Fortnightly Report (Confidential), Report, dated 16th July 1923.
Do. do. 19th July 1927.
Do. do. 4th July 1927.
Do. do. 4th October 1934.
Do. do. 20th November 1934.
Madras Presidency Administration Reports for the years 1920 to 1934.
G.O. No. 547, Public (Confidential), dated 3rd April 1935.

[2] Madras Presidency Administration Report, 1933-1934, page xiii.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 2nd June 1933.
Do. do. 20th July 1933.
Do. do. 9th October 1933
Do. do. 19th June 1934.
Do. do. 18th July 1934.

[3] Madras Administration Report for 1926-1927, pages xiii—xv.

[4] *Idem* for 1927-1928, page xiii.

In July 1934 the Communist Party and its organizations were banned by the Government of India on the ground that they constituted a danger to the public peace. What was called the Meerut Conspiracy case revealed to them that the party aimed at nothing less than the violent overthrow of the existing order of society. Its aims were said to be the hatred of God and all forms of religion, the destruction of private property, absolute social and racial equality, promotion of class hatred, destruction of all forms of representative Government, including civil liberties such as freedom of speech and trial by jury and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of a world revolution. Its objects were said to be the complete independence of India by the violent overthrow of British rule, the cancellation of all debts, the establishment of a Soviet Government, the abolition of the Indian States, the confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other properties of the ruling princes, the landlords, etc. It sought to achieve these objects, it was said, by developing a general strike of workers culminating in a general political strike, by developing a peasant movement for the non-payment of rents and taxes into an All-India agrarian revolution, by organizing a nationwide movement for complete independence by attaching to it all the workers, peasants and petty bourgeois and by spreading revolutionary propaganda in the army and the police and inciting them to revolt against the British rule.[1] In Madras, the Government declared unlawful the Young Workers League (November 1934) which had for its avowed object the overthrow of the British imperialism by mass action, and which, it was believed, was in no sense a *bona fide* trade union and was in touch with the Communist International.[2] All this created a storm of protest in the left wing press, especially in the Indian language newspapers in this State. And in this campaign of bitter criticism of the Government action, *Vetri Murasu*, a Tamil newspaper of Mayuram, took a prominent part [3]. Nor was this all. The banning of the Communist Party created a great deal of uneasiness in the Self-Respect Party which had, as has been seen, imbibed some of the Communist ideas. Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, the leader of this Party, thought that the Government might ban his party also ; but he wished the Government to know that his was a Socialist Party, that it worked always within the bounds of law, that violence had no place in it, that its aim was the establishment of the British system of administration and failing that alone, "a Communist system of administration." [4] His party, however, was not banned. Nor

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[1] G.O. No. 621, Public, dated 17th April 1935.
G.O. No. 2111, Public, dated 18th December 1936.

[2] G.O. No. 621, Public, dated 17th April 1935, page 7.

[3] G.O. No. 324, Public (Confidential), dated 23rd February 1935, pages 13, 31, 60.

[4] *Idem*, pages 25–27.

were the other Socialist Organizations in this state banned; though some of them like the All-India Congress Socialist Organization agitated for complete independence, no compromise with the British imperialism, socialization of important industries, the elimination of the Princes, landlords and other classes of exploiters and the redistribution of lands to the peasants [1].

Then came the Reforms Act of 1935, by which dyarchy in the Provinces was abolished and the Executive was made responsible to the Legislature, except in certain matters over which the Governor exercised individual control. In Madras the Legislature consisted of a Legislative Assembly and a Legislative Council both based on a much wider franchise than before. Strenuous efforts were now made by the Congress and the Justice Parties to increase their strength and to carry on an effective propaganda for the forthcoming elections. New parties also now came into existence, such as the Peoples Party, the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Party and the Madras Presidency Muslim Progressive Party, while the Provincial branch of the Muslim League was revived [2]. In the general elections held in February 1937, however, the Congress Party won a decisive victory over the other parties. The fact that the anti-Congress vote was split made little or no difference; the Congress Party secured 159 out of the 215 seats in the Legislative Assembly and 26 out of the 46 seats in the Legislative Council [3]. The Congress Party, however, having refused to accept office without securing assurances against the misuse of the Governor's discretionary powers under the new constitution, an Interim Ministry was formed under Sri K. V. Reddy [4]. But in the first half of July, the Congress Party being satisfied with the assurances given by the Viceroy accepted office and formed a Ministry under Sri C. Rajagopalachari [5].

Of all the measures introduced by Sri Rajagopalachari's Ministry, none came in for so much opposition from his political opponents as the introduction of Hindustani (Hindi) compulsorily in certain schools as an experiment. The opposition to this measure came mostly from the Self-Respect Party led by Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, but it was backed up alike by the Justice Party, the Muslim League and the Scheduled Caste Federation [6]. Meetings were held in Madras, in Tanjore and in other Tamil districts at which

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[1] G.O. No. 324, Public (Confidential), dated 23rd February 1935, page 101.
[2] Madras Administration Report for 1935–1936, pages VIII–IX.
[3] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 4th March 1937.
[4] G.O. No. 835, Public, dated 16th May 1938.
[5] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Reports, dated 5th May 1937 and 23rd July 1937.
[6] *Idem*, Report, dated 10th June 1938.
Do. 24th June 1938.
Do. 9th August 1938.
Do. 29th August 1938.

speeches were made attacking the Brahmins and alleging that the introduction of Hindi was an attempt to impose Aryan influence on Dravidian culture in order to perpetuate Brahmin domination [1]. Picketing by successive batches of volunteers of the Self-Respect Party was conducted before the Premier's residence and before certain schools in Madras and Tanjore where Hindi had been introduced. More than a thousand arrests were made in the city and most of the picketers were convicted. Police precautions were taken in Tanjore and some other districts to prevent clashes. Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker himself was arrested, convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment [2]. But still the agitation went on; it ended only when the Congress Ministry laid down office in 1939 and the succeeding Government abolished the teaching of Hindi and released all Anti-Hindi prisoners. [3]

Notwithstanding all this political opposition, the Congress Party won popular support and became stronger and stronger, while the other parties became weaker and weaker [4], except perhaps the Communist Party on whose strength there is no definite information. The Justice Party now found a new leader in Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker and in December 1938 elected him as its president, although he was then in jail [5]. The Communist Party went on in its own way carrying on propaganda, fomenting industrial and students' strikes, and becoming a growing menace especially in Kerala. Many

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[1] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 6th July 1938.

[2] He was, however, released after six months on medical grounds.

[3] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 20th July 1938.

Do.	do.	9th August 1938.
Do.	do.	19th August 1938.
Do.	do.	5th September 1938.
Do.	do.	5th October 1938.
Do.	do.	19th October 1938.
Do.	do.	3rd November 1938.
Do.	do.	21st November 1938.
Do.	do.	2nd December 1938.
Do.	do.	16th December 1938.
Do.	do.	4th January 1939.
Do.	do.	19th January 1939.
Do.	do.	3rd February 1939.
Do.	do.	16th February 1939.
Do.	do.	4th March 1939.
Do.	do.	18th March 1939.
Do.	do.	4th April 1939.
Do.	do.	5th May 1939.
Do.	do.	3rd June 1939.
Do.	do.	20th June 1939.
Do.	do.	5th July 1939.
Do.	do.	26th July 1939.
Do.	do.	18th September 1939.
Do.	do.	17th November 1939.
Do.	do.	2nd March 1940.
Do.	do.	16th March 1940.

[4] G.O. No. 835, Public, dated 16th May 1935—see the report of the Inspector-General of Police.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 5th July 1935.

[5] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 4th January 1939.

of the Communists under the guise of Socialists formed unions, it is said, " embracing all branches of industry and husbandry" and students [1].

The Second World War now broke out and commenced a new chapter in the history of independence. The Congress having decided not to participate in the war, Sri Rajagopalachari's Ministry resigned in October 1939 and the Government was carried on by the Governor with the aid of Civilian Advisers.[2] The moment this took place and individual satyagraha was permitted by the Congress, Tanjore once more became active. A persistent anti-war propaganda was started in the various parts of the district, in Tanjore, in Kumbakonam, in Arantangi and in Nagapattinam. It took several forms. Anti-war pamphlets were distributed ; anti-war speeches were made ; anti-war posters were stuck to walls ; anti-war propaganda was carried on from house to house ; and anti-war slogans were shouted in public places. Among the many persons arrested and convicted there were not only politicians but also merchants and students [3].

Events soon moved towards a crisis. The interminable waiting for the fulfilment of the pledges by the British, the failure of the Cripps' Mission, the danger of the conversion of India into a theatre of war by Britain and her Allies, all these induced Gandhiji and the Congress to make an all out effort to get rid of the British rule The nation having waited long enough could not now wait any longer for independence. The Civil Disobedience Movement, or the Quit India Movement, as it was called, was fashioned by Gandhiji in May-June 1942, was put into shape by the Working Committee by the Wardha Resolution in July and was launched by the All-India Congress Committee by its Bombay Resolution on 8th August 1942.

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[1] G.O. No. 835, Public, dated 16th May 1935—see the report of the Inspector-General of Police.

Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated		5th October 1937.
Do.	do.	8th October 1937.
Do.	do.	6th December 1937.
Do.	do.	21st December 1937.
Do.	do.	21st April 1937.
Do.	do.	16th March 1939.
Do.	do.	4th March 1939.

[2] Madras Administration Report for 1939–1940, page 1.

[3] G.O. No. 34, Public, dated 6th January 1940.
G.O. No. 187, Public, dated 23rd January 1940.
G.O. No. 1162, Public, dated 12th June 1940.
G.O. No. 1705, Public, dated 29th August 1940.
G.O. No. 1743, Public, dated 2nd September 1940.
G.O. No. 2052, Public, dated 15th October 1940.
G.O. No. 2189, Public, dated 6th November 1940.
G.O. No. 2446, Public, dated 12th December 1940.
G.O. No. 97, Public, dated 16th January 1941.
G.O. No. 98, Public, dated 16th January 1941.
G.O. No. 99, Public, dated 16th January 1941.
G.O. No. 858, Public, dated 28th April 1941.
G.O. No. 2708, Public, dated 26th November 1941.
G.O. No. 143, Public, dated 12th January 1942.

This Resolution, which was a long one, demanded in short the immediate withdrawal of Britain from India, the setting up of a provisional Government representing all the parties, the pooling of all resources for fighting the struggle for freedom against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism, and thereby strengthening the cause of the United Nations and, after the war was over, the establishment of a World Federation of Free Nations. And in order to secure the preliminary step, the immediate withdrawal of Britain, it sanctioned a nation-wide non-violent mass movement under the leadership of Gandhiji[1].

This clarion call was no sooner made than Gandhiji and a large number of prominent Congress leaders were arrested and imprisoned and all the Congress organizations throughout India were banned[2]. This was a signal for the outbreak of a national uprising throughout India in which violence was freely used side by side with non-violence to paralyse the activities of the Government. The British Government held the Congress responsible for the violent outbreaks, stating that the Congress must have known that the incitement to mass action on such a wide scale was bound to lead to violence; but the Congress held the Government responsible stating that it was the arrest of leaders and the repressive policy of the Government that were responsible for violence[3]. So far as Madras was concerned, Sri Rajagopalachari having by this time resigned from the Congress on the issue of Pakistan before the passing of the Bombay Resolution, and other leaders having been imprisoned, the people were more or less left to themselves and they, in many places, resorted to violence.

In Tanjore non-violent as well as violent measures were used by the people. Meetings were held, hartals were observed, anti-Government placards were carried in procession and students' demonstrations were organized in many places. But, from 13th to 18th August the agitation took a violent form. On 13th August, in Thiruvaiyar, 300 Congressmen and their sympathisers marched through the bazaar forcing the shop-keepers to close their shops and preventing students from attending schools. They blocked the roads with stones, stopped buses, cut telegraph and telephone wires and uprooted the posts, entered two public offices and damaged the furniture. On 14th August, in Tanjore, a public meeting was held, in spite of its being banned, which resulted in lathi charges, throwing of brickbats at the police and the arrest of a local Congressman. On the same day looting was carried on in some

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1 History of the Indian National Congress by Sri Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Volume II, 1947, pages 343–346.

2 G.O. No. 2541, Public, dated 9th August 1942.
G.O. No. 2543, Public, dated 9th August 1942.

3 Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942–43.
Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, August 1942—April 1944.

villages. On 16th August, in Mannargudi, about 1,000 people armed with sticks, knives and swords cut telephone and telegraph wires, uprooted electric posts, set fire to the railway station, removed railway track, stopped buses from plying and burnt two public offices causing damage estimated at more than Rs. 33,000. They could be put down only with the help of an armed reserve and after making lathi charges and arrests. On 16th August, in Kumbakonam, all shops that did not observe hartal were picketed in the morning; and in the evening about 10,000 people defied the order prohibiting their gathering, gathered at Gandhi Park, cut telephone wires, bent telegraph posts, barricaded the streets, surrounded the police and the District Magistrate and pelted stones, bricks and glass pieces at them until they were fired upon and dispersed by lathi charges. On 18th August, in Nachiarkoil, a hartal was forced on the village, telephone wires were cut, road communications were interfered with and an attempt to blow up a bridge over a canal was made. On the same day, at Tiruthuraipundi, an attempt was made to derail a train. Thereafter the movement lost its violence. Up to 31st December 4 persons were detained, 92 persons were convicted and Mannargudi and Thiruvaiyar were each fined collectively Rs. 38,718 and Rs. 1,903 respectively [1].

From this time onwards there was no Congress agitation on any considerable scale in the district or in the State or in India. The political atmosphere in India continued for a time to remain dark and sullen, what with the detention of the Congress leaders in jail and the unhelpful attitude shown by the Viceroys, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell, and Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the implacable leader of the Muslim League. The Viceroys insisted on the solution of the communal and minority problems as a preliminary to the consideration of the grant of any reforms, while Mr. Jinnah insisted on Pakistan. Gandhiji having been released in May 1944 tried his best to solve the tangle, but in vain. From 1945, however, the sky began to clear. The formation of the Labour Government in Britain, the end of the Japanese War, Lord Wavell's visit to England for consultation with the Labour Government, the arrival first of the Parliamentary Delegation and then of the Cabinet Mission to hammer out a constitution for India led to a succession of rapid political changes. Then it was that the ban on the Congress was lifted, that the Congress leaders were released and that they resolved to accept the reforms offered in good faith by the British. This speedily led to the holding of the general elections, the formation of the Interim Government at the centre consisting of Indian leaders drawn from the major political parties (1946), the convening of the Constituent Assembly,

[1] District Calendar of Events of the Civil Disobedience Movement, August-December 1942 (Secret), pages 99–103. (Most of the collective fines were refunded after the Congress came to power.)

the decision of the British to withdraw from India by June 1948, the arrival of the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten (March 1947), the partition of India into India and Pakistan, the declaration of Independence (July 1947) and finally the making of the Constitution and the inauguration of the Indian Republic (January 1950).

In Madras the Governor's rule, which, as has been seen, was established in October 1939, continued till the end of March 1946, when the Congress having contested and won the General Elections accepted office again. During this period, while the Congress Party was fighting for freedom, the Justice Party and the Communist Party pursued their own programmes. Sri E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, the recognized leader of the Justice Party, offered support to the Adviser Government in the prosecution of the war [1] and carried on an anti-Brahmin and pro-Dravidanad propaganda. He threatened to start another agitation like the anti-Hindi agitation for the removal of caste and social disabilities in temples, restaurants, railway refreshment rooms, etc. [2] He convened a Justice Party Conference at Conjeevaram for urging the establishment of Dravidanad and at this conference, it is said, he unveiled "a map of Dravidanad comprising the areas where Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are spoken together with Bengal." [3] He courted the Muslim League, supported the scheme for Pakistan, inveighed against the Congress and continued to stir up anti-Brahmin feelings in Tanjore and other Tamil districts. [4] But his position in the Justice Party was soon challenged when he and his followers openly began insisting on changing the name of the Justice Party into "the Dravidian Association" or "Dravida Kazhagam" and calling upon all title holders to surrender their titles. The orthodox Justicites now promptly assailed him, repudiated his leadership and elected Sri B. Ramachandra Reddy as their leader. [5] But he was not discomfited; he continued to canvas support for Dravida Kazhagam holding meetings in the Tanjore, South Arcot and Tinnevelly districts. [6]

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[1] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 19th October 1939.
Do. do. 18th December 1939.
Do. do. 5th January 1940.
Do. do. 17th February 1940.

[2] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 16th March 1940.
Do. do. 4th January 1941.

[3] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 19th June 1940.

[4] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 18th June 1941.
Do. do. 4th August 1941.
Do. do. 18th June 1942.

[5] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 9th September 1944.
Do. do. 25th September 1944.
Do. do. 9th October 1944.

[6] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 9th October 1944.
Do. do. 6th November 1944.
Do. do. 10th May 1946.
Do. do. 1st June 1946.
Do. do. 25th June 1946.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, under leaders like Sri Mohan Kumaramangalam, Sri P. Ramamoorthy, Sri M. R. Venkatraman and Sri Anandan Nambiar, cast its net wider and endeavoured to secure a more permanent hold over the workers and the rising generation. It found the time and circumstances eminently propitious for its propaganda. In July 1942 the ban on the Communists was removed[1]; in August 1942, as has been seen, the ban on the Congress was imposed. This gave the Communists a free hand and a free field to carry on their activities and the activities bore abundant fruit amidst the economic distress caused by the war, amidst the rise in prices and the scarcity of food-stuffs. The ban on the Communists was removed by the British Government, hoping that they would fully co-operate with the war effort since Russia had by then become a firm ally of Britain. The Communists gave whole-hearted co-operation to the Government in all war efforts.[2] They undermined the Congress by carrying on extensive underground propaganda in all districts and seducing the industrial workers, the kisans as well as the students from the Congress into the Communist fold.[3] In the Tanjore district they held a conference at Mannargudi attended by no less than 5,000 kisans much to the alarm of the Congressmen, and began to induce the kisans to make unreasonable demands

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[1] G.O. No. 2152, Public, dated 23rd July 1942.

[2] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 21st July 1942.
Do. do. 25th September 1942.
Do. do. 7th August 1942.
Do. do. 23rd October 1942.
Do. do. 7th November 1942.
Do. do. 5th April 1943.
Do. do. 7th May 1943.
Do. do. 25th May 1943.
Do. do. 14th June 1943.
Do. do. 8th June 1945.
Do. do. 10th May 1946.

[3] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 5th October 1942.
Do. do. 5th December 1942.
Do. do. 21st December 1942.
Do. do. 25th January 1943.
Do. do. 6th February 1943.
Do. do. 22nd February 1943.
Do. do. 24th July 1943.
Do. do. 21st December 1943.
Do. do. 6th March 1944.
Do. do. 9th October 1944.
Do. do. 6th November 1944.
Do. do. 25th January 1945.
Do. do. 9th April 1945.
Do. do. 22nd May 1945.
Do. do. 7th September 1945.
Do. do. 26th January 1946.

on the mirasdars.[1] They also organized here an All-India Kisan Day at which flags and placards were carried with slogans " Long Live Revolution ", " Release National Leaders " and " Down with Fascism ".[2] In Tanjore town itself they formed several students' federations, circulated Communist literature widely among them and organized a Soviet Bengal Famine Exhibition which attracted a large number of people.[3] In their struggle for getting control over the workers and students, they often came into clashes with the Congressmen. All this went on till 1945 when the Communists were discredited and expelled from the Congress. From 1945 onwards the Congress made strenuous efforts to win back the lost ground by intensive propaganda.

Shortly afterwards the general elections arrived and Sri C. Rajagopalachari having by this time left the Congress on account of his differences with other Congressmen over the Pakistan issue, the leadership in the Tamil Nad passed into the hands of Sri Kamaraj Nadar, the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee. As soon as the Congress High Command decided to contest the elections, Sri Kamaraj Nadar and his followers conducted strenuous tours in all the Tamil districts, including Tanjore, creating enthusiasm everywhere for the Congress. Sri T. Prakasam and others conducted similar tours in the Andhra districts. The opposition parties now more or less disappeared from the field, save the Communist Party.[4] And the Congress Party having secured an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Assembly in the elections

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[1] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 9th May 1944.
Do. do. 22nd May 1944.
Do. do. 8th June 1944.

[2] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 25th September 1944.

[3] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Reports, dated 22nd February 1943.
Do. do. 25th September 1944.

[4] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 20th May 1942.
Do. do. 9th June 1942.
Do. do. 21st July 1942.
Do. do. 9th September 1944.
Do. do. 6th November 1944.
Do. do. 26th June 1945.
Do. do. 9th July 1945.
Do. do. 19th July 1945.
Do. do. 7th September 1945.
Do. do. 26th September 1945.
Do. do. 8th October 1945.
Do. do. 25th October 1945.
Do. do. 8th November 1945.
Do. do. 26th November 1945.
Do. do. 12th December 1945.
Do. do. 24th December 1945.
Do. do. 11th January 1946.
Do. do. 26th January 1946.
Do. do. 8th February 1946.
Do. do. 20th February 1946.
Do. do. 7th March 1946.
Do. do. 21st March 1946.

held in March 1946, Sri T. Prakasam, who was chosen as the leader of the Parliamentary Party, formed a ministry in April 1946.[1] His Ministry was, in March 1947, succeeded by the Ministry of Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar[2] and this Ministry was in turn succeeded in April 1949 by the Ministry of Sri P. S. Kumaraswami Raja. As for the Governor, Sir Archibald Nye who had become the Governor in May 1946 continued to hold the office even after the declaration of Independence till September 1948 when he was succeeded by the Maharaja of Bhavnagar. As we propose to close with the year 1950, we have to cover only a portion of the rule of the Ministry of Sri Kumaraswami Raja and the Governorship of the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

The whole period from the acceptance of office by the Congress in 1946 down to 1950 was marked by a series of political disturbances. Freedom was born in travail and had to be protected against all sorts of exceptional dangers. The war left a legacy of high prices, hoarding and blackmarketing and unusally hard times for the poor. Pakistan left a legacy of communal hatred and bitterness among the Muslims and the Hindus. The communal hatred was not a little accentuated by the All-India movements like the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh (the R.S.S.) directed against the Muslims and the provincial movements like the Razakars in Hyderabad directed against the Hindus and the Dravida Kazhagam or Black Shirts in Madras directed against the Brahmins. These movements were promptly put down or kept within bounds by the National Government. But not so was the Communist Movement, the activities of which in Madras during the war period we have already noticed. The expulsion of the Communists from the Congress in 1945 made hardly any difference in their activities. On the other hand, it strengthened the left wing of the Communist Party which from that time became supreme. As soon as the Congress accepted office, the Communists, all over India, organized industrial and agrarian strikes, held demonstrations, made anti-Government speeches, disseminated inflammatory literature, terrorised their opponents and incited the people to all sorts of violent acts against the State, against the mill and factory owners, against the zamindars, against the landholders, etc.

In Madras too, they did all this both in the city and in the districts. They opened a parliamentary office in the city to collect statistics about the grievances of the workers. They endeavoured to organize a united front of all parties opposed to the Congress Ministry. They attacked and vilified the Government on every occasion. They tried to capture all the labour

[1] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 5th April 1946.
Do. do. 20th April 1946.
Do. do. 10th May 1946.

[2] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 24th March 1947.

unions in the city, formed village food committees in the districts in opposition to the Congress food committees, fomented strikes in mills, factories, dockyards and essential services and, what is more, incited agricultural labourers to rise against the landholders making it difficult for the authorities to maintain law and order over large and dispersed areas. And whenever they were arrested and convicted they characterised the Government as reactionary and capitalistic [1].

In Tanjore which is essentially an agricultural district, they found little scope for organizing industrial strikes, though they tried to do so in a couple of cases [2]. But they found here an immense scope for inciting the agricultural labourers, the kisans, who were mostly Harijans, against the mirasdars, who were mostly Brahmins and Mudaliars. Here therefore they formed well-knit and unified organizations of the kisans under the guidance of proper leaders in every taluk, in every firka, in every village and even in every miras [3]. Their object seems to have been nothing less than the disruption of society, the dislocation of agriculture, the destruction of law and order and the creation of complete anarchy. They instigated the kisans to make extravagant demands upon the mirasdars in regard to varam, bonus, wages, etc., and, when these demands were opposed or not granted, they instigated them to seize their share from the threshing floor, to damage the fields, crops and paddy, to stay away from cultivation, to prevent outsiders from coming and cultivating the lands and to terrorize both these outsiders and the mirasdars by committing assault, loot, arson and even murder. Every effort the authorities made to induce the kisans to listen to reason proved futile. The mirasdars found themselves utterly helpless, while the Government found themselves faced with a grave situation. Not only was law and order systematically and openly set at defiance but also serious impediments were placed in the way of proper cultivation and procurement at

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[1] Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 20th April 1946.

Do.	do.	10th May 1946.
Do.	do.	1st June 1946.
Do.	do.	8th July 1946.
Do.	do.	24th July 1946.
Do.	do.	9th August 1946.
Do.	do.	30th August 1946.
Do.	do.	21st August 1946.
Do.	do.	27th August 1946.
Do.	do.	30th October 1946.
Do.	do.	19th November 1946.
Do.	do.	23rd November 1946.
Do.	do.	11th December 1946.
Do.	do.	28th Janunry 1947.
Do.	do.	12th February 1947.

[2] G.O. No. 404, Public (Confidential), dated 15th February 1942, pages 38, 65.

[3] G.O. No. 628, Public, dated 26th February 1947, pages 21–27

a time when the utmost distress was prevailing in the State owing to continued drought and scarcity of food-grains [1].

The anarchy let loose by the Communists, especially in Tanjore and Malabar, compelled the Government to take stringent measures to preserve public peace and safeguard public interests. Early in 1947 they issued the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance (Ordinance I of 1947 [2]) and followed it up by the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act (Act I of 1947) [3]. In this Act, in order to deal with subversive activities, they provided for preventive detention, imposition of collective fines and censorship, control of meetings, processions, camps, drills and parades, requisitioning of property and control of essential services. This Act they amplified and amended in 1948 [4] and re-enacted in 1949 (Act XXIII of 1949). [5] Under these Acts the Government detained several active Communist agitators of Tanjore. Nor was this all. The Magistrates of Tanjore often made use of their powers under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to prohibit meetings, processions, demonstrations and assembly of five or more persons at the time of agricultural operations, such as transplantation and harvesting. And in many cases the Government had to extend the order of prohibition to longer periods in order to preserve public peace. [6] But it must be remarked that the Government, though they took stringent measures to put down Communistic activities, did not show any undue harshness towards the Communists. Their action, in most cases of detention under the Acts mentioned above, was upheld by the advisory boards set up to review such cases. And yet, they released all such detenus as gave an undertaking not to take part in subversive activities [7]; they granted allowances to the families of many

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[1] G.O. No. 628, Public, dated 26th February 1947, see e.g.
G.O. No. 3737, Public, dated 3rd November 1949.
G.O. No. 3748, Public, dated 3rd November 1949.
G.O. No. 1303, Home (Confidential), dated 13th March 1947, pages 3–43 of the printed report.
G.O. No. 4656, Home (Confidential), dated 17th December 1947, pages 8, 42, of the printed report.
G.O. No. 3707, Home (Confidential), dated 6th October 1948, page 8 of the printed report.

[2] G.O. No. 13, Legal, dated 22nd January 1947.
Fortnightly Reports (Confidential), Report, dated 12th February 1947.
Do. do. 25th February 1947.

[3] G.O. No. 26, Legal, dated 12th March 1947.

[4] G.O. No. 199, Legal, dated 29th December 1948.

[5] G.O. No. 173, Legal, dated 15th October 1949.
G.O. No. 188, Legal, dated 29th October 1949.

[6] G.O. No. 768, Public, dated 8th March 1947.
G.O. No. 1441, Public, dated 15th May 1947.
G.O. No. 2439, Public, dated 6th August 1947.
G.O. No. 601, Public, dated 11th March 1948.
G.O. Nos. 722–723, Public, dated 20th March 1948.
G.O. No. 2857, Public, dated 19th November 1948.
G.O. No. 258, Public, dated 31st January 1949.

[7] G.O. No. 2339, Public, dated 19th July 1949.

of the detenus and they also released on parole a good number of detenus to attend on their sick relations, to perform obligatory ceremonies, etc.[1]. It is of some interest to note here that the statements made by several of these detenus breathe an air of defiance against the Government and of perfect disregard for the established order of society.[2]

While the Communists throve, the Black Shirts began to make hay in Tanjore. They established their headquarters in parts of the district, began to pull down national flags hoisted on schools and municipal buildings, carried on anti-Hindi agitation on the re-introduction of Hindi as an optional subject in schools by resorting to meetings, processions, shouting of slogans and picketing of schools and sometimes made it necessary for the Magistrates to prohibit their meetings and demonstrations under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code[3]. They also stirred up anti-Brahmin feelings by preaching before the Harijans the wrongs done by the Brahmins and the Congress. They even, it would seem, hoped that they could win over the kisans to their side from the Communists, but in this hope they were disappointed[4]. The Government had to keep a careful watch over their activities.

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[1] Papers are numerous—see, e.g., G.O. No. 2122, Public, dated 12th July 1947.
G.O. No. 2348, Public, dated 29th July 1947.
G.O. No. 1563, Public, dated 28th June 1948.
G.O. No. 1785, Public, dated 22nd July 1948.

[2] *See* e.g., G.O. No. 2183, Public, dated 11th July 1949.
G.O. No. 3748, Public, dated 23rd November 1949.

[3] G.O. No. 1481, Public, dated 18th June 1948.
G.O. No. 2161, Public, dated 2nd September 1948.
G.O. No. 2857, Public, dated 19th November 1948.

[4] G.O. No. 404, Public (Confidential), dated 15th February 1949.

CHAPTER V.

THE PEOPLES.

The Tanjore district has a population of 2,982,670 persons. Of the eleven taluks which it comprises, one (Pattukkottai) has a population of over four hundred thousand and three (Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mayuram) have a population of over three hundred thousand. The rest of the taluks range within a population of three hundred thousand and two hundred thousand, except Arantangi which has a population of about one hundred and forty thousand. The density of population in the district is on an average 798 per square mile which is more than the density of population in any other district in this State, save that of Malabar which has a density of 814 per square mile and that of the deltaic portion of the South Arcot district which has a density of 963 per square mile. During the decade 1941–1951 the population of Tanjore has shown an increase of 16·4 per cent as against 7·4 per cent in the previous decade. This is because the Cauvery Delta which is agriculturally rich and the Cauvery-Mettur Project which came into operation in 1931–1941 have, owing to the general food scarcity which prevailed in the State during 1941–1951, attracted a large number of labouring classes for work and food. There has been a large increase (33 per cent) of population in the Pattukkottai taluk and a considerable increase (18·9 per cent) of population in the Arantangi taluk, both of which have been very much benefited by the Cauvery-Mettur Project. The immigrant population of the district as a whole as shown by the Census of 1951 is 172,500 ; it came mostly from Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli and South Arcot districts. [1]

As to the distribution of population on the linguistic basis, of the total population of 2,982,670 persons no less than 2,876,292 persons speak Tamil. Telugu is the mother-tongue of 57,419 persons, while Sourashtra is spoken by 16,978 persons, Marathi by 8,317 persons and Urdu by 10,608 persons. [2] The remaining persons speak Kannada, Malayalam, Hindi, etc. The existence of large numbers of Telugu and Marathi speaking persons is accounted for by the fact that the district was for a long time under the Telugu Nayakas and the Maharashtra Rajas. Sourashtra is spoken by the silk weavers of Sourashtra origin who are found in large numbers in this district as well as in Madurai. As to the distribution of population on the basis of religion, the Hindus form the bulk of the population,

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[1] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, 1953, page 6.
[2] *Idem*, pages 298, 302–304.

numbering as they do 2,692,893. The Muslims come next with 189,262 persons, while the Christians number 98,559, the non-tribal religions 1,264, and the Jains 653.[1]

It is not possible to describe here the philosophical tenets of these religions. All that is possible is to give a general account of the people who profess these religions and their manners and customs. Among the Hindus the Brahmins occupy an important place in religious and social life. They are the repositories of Vedic knowledge ; it is they who mostly officiate as priests in the numerous temples for which Tanjore is famous and it is they who mostly perform the religious ceremonies among themselves as well as all Non-Brahmins. Latterly they have taken to other professions also ; several of them have made their way into every walk of life. But still many Brahmins continue to perform religious duties.

The Brahmins are primarily divided into two well-known religious sects, the Saivites and the Vaishnavites. The Saivites are either Saivites proper or Smarthas. The Saivites believe that there is only one God Siva who is self-existent and that He is not liable to lose His personality. The Smarthas on the other hand recognize the Trimurtis, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, as equal manifestations of the supreme spirit and believe that the soul of man (jiva) is only a portion of the infinite spirit (atman) and that it is capable of being absorbed into the atman. Among the Vaishnavites there are two principal sects in the south, those who are the followers of Sri Ramanuja who call themselves Sri Vaishnavas and those who are the followers of Sri Madhvacharya who call themselves Madhvas. Their Chief God is Vishnu though they recognize the Trimurtis. All Brahmins, whether Saivites or Vaishnavites, have, according to the sutras, to go through the following samskaras (rites) ; Garbhadanam, Pumsavanam, Simantham, Jatakaranam, Namakaranam, Annaprasanam, Chaulam, Upanayanam and Vivaham. These rites are supposed to purify the body and spirit, but not all of them are, in practice performed at the present day. The Garbhadana or impregnation ceremony should be performed on the fourth day of the marriage ceremonies. Pumsavanam and Simantham are performed together during the seventh or ninth month of the first pregnancy. The Jatakaranam, Namakaranam (naming ceremony), Annaprasanam (food giving ceremony) and Chaulam (tonsure ceremony) are ordinarily celebrated one after the other on the Upanayanam day. Upanayanam is essentially a ceremony of initiation. From the orthodox point of view it should be performed before the age of eight, but in practice it is performed much later. The wearing of the sacred thread is a sign that the boy has gone through the

[1] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, 1953, pages 308–309.

ceremony. The Vivaham, or the marriage ceremony, resembles even today that of the Vedic times in all essentials. All sections of Brahmins closely follow the Grihya Sutras relating to their Sakha. In addition to these ceremonies all Brahmins perform funeral ceremonies and the annual Sradha (memorial rites). The Brahmins are also expected to perform the Ahannikams (or daily observances) such as the bath, the Sandhya service, Brahma Yagna, Deva puja, Tarpana (oblations of water) etc. [1]

The Tamil Brahmins in the Tanjore district are mostly Smarthas and Sri Vaishnavas. Each of these sects is divided and subdivided into a number of smaller groups based upon sectarian, occupational, territorial, ritualistic and other differences. Among the Smartha subdivisions may be mentioned the Vadama (the Northerners), the Brahacharnam, the Ashtasahasram, the Vattima or the Maddhima, the Kaniyalar, the Cholia, the Viliya, the Kesika, the Prathamasaki and the Gurukkal. The Vadamas claim to be superior to the other classes ; they worship both Siva and Vishnu but follow the Smartha customs in every way. They are subdivided into the Choladesa Vadamas, the Vadadesa Vadamas, the Inji Vadamas and the Sabhayar Vadamas. The Brahacharanams are more Saivite and more orthodox than the Vadamas. They are subdivided into smaller territorial groups, such as the Milaganur, the Palamaneri, the Tiruvannamalai, the Malainadu, the Kandramanikkam and the Satyamangalam Brahacharanams. The Ashtasahasrams are considered to be inferior to the Vadamas and the Brahacharanams ; they are, however, like the Brahacharanams more Saivite than the Vadamas. They are subdivided into the Athiyur, the Arivapadu, the Nandivadi and the Shatkulam Ashtasahasrams. The Vattimas are said to be noted for their economical habits and for their sense of corporate unity. They are grouped into three small terri-torrial divisions, the Pathinettu Gramathu, the Udayalur and the Nannilam Vattimas. The Kaniyalas are mostly temple servants and wear Vaishnava marks. The Choliyas are mostly temple priests and temple servants. They are subdivided into the Tirukattiur, the Madalur, the Visalur, the Puthulur, the Senganur and the Avadayar Kovil Choliyas. The Viliyars are supposed to be descended from an ancestor who offered his eyes to Lord Siva for want of flowers. The Kesikas, or Hiranyakesikas as they are sometimes called, closely resemble the Vadamas but are an exclusive endogamous unit and are highly orthodox. The Prathamasakis follow the White Yajur Veda. They are also sometimes called Katyayanas and are considered inferior by the other classes. So also are considered inferior the Gurukkals who are temple priests.

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[1] Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, 1909, Vol. I, pages 269–278.

They are subdivided into the Tiruvalangad, the Kancheepuram and the Tirukkazhukundram Gurukkals. In regard to Sri Vaishnavas they are all supposed to be converts from Smarthas and are all followers of Sri Ramanuja. There are two distinct groups of Sri Vaishnavas, the Vadagalais (Northerners) and the Tengalais (Southerners) who are easily distinguished by the marks on their foreheads. The former put on a U shaped mark and the latter a Y shaped mark. Orthodox Sri Vaishnavas are very exclusive and hold that they co-existed as a separate caste of Brahmins with the Smarthas. All Vaishnavas are expected to undergo a ceremony of initiation into Vaishnavism after the Upanayanam ceremony. As to the Vadagalais and the Tengalais there are various points of differences between them which sometimes lead to bitter quarrels in connection with temple worship. During the procession of the image at temple festivals both the Vadagalais and the Tengalais used to go before and after the image repeating Sanskrit Vedas and Tamil Prabhandams respectively.[1] Nowadays, however, they do not maintain this exclusiveness always but are more tolerant and mix together in processions.

All the Smarthas and Vaishnavas as a general rule eat together, but they very seldom intermarry. All of them wear the sacred thread and belong to particular gothrams. All of them also have access to the innermost apartment next to the shrine in the temples. The orthodox among all of them likewise are not a little particular about their sanctity. The Brahmins as a rule have no caste panchayats among them but when one of them does anything for which he would in another caste be punished by a panchayat, he is quietly ostracised until he makes the proper expiation prescribed by his Guru.[2]

There are also Brahmins other than the Tamil Brahmins in the district, though they are few in number. Of these may be mentioned the Telugu, the Maharashtra and the Kannada Brahmins. The Telugu Brahmins are divided into the Niyogis and the Vaidiks. The former have taken to various professions, while the latter generally earn their livelihood by performing priestly duties, especially as panchangis or ministers of the Non-Brahmins. The Maharashtra Brahmins can trace their origin to the days of Ekoji; they live mostly in Tanjore town. The Kannada Brahmins are scattered over the greater part of the district.[3]

Coming to the Non-Brahmin Castes, the Maharashtra Non-Brahmins form two small castes, the higher and the lower. The higher caste comprises the ninety-six families known as

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 78–80.
Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. I, pages 333–349.

[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 80.

[3] Tanjore District Manual, pages 170–171.

Channaugulyas, and to this caste belong the descendants of the Rajas and their relations. To the lower caste, on the other hand, belong the descendants of the soldiers and their followers. These castes neither intermarry between themselves nor intermarry with the others. They wear the sacred thread but in no respect follow the customs of the Brahmins. They are as a rule Saivites but they also observe all the Vaishnava ceremonies and festivals. The women of the higher caste observe strict gosha. It is said that the offspring of the Maharashtras, of their union with the Non-Maharashtras, are always regarded as illegitimate and never engrafted on the pure Maharashtra families. [1]

The Komattiars whose mother-tongue is Telugu are also few in number. They call themselves Vaisyas, have gothrams, perform the ceremony of Upanayanam, wear the sacred thread and abstain from animal food. Their special occupation is trade in which they are proverbially successful. They are generally called Chettiars in South India which simply means merchants and which is thus used as an occupational name. They do not, however, belong to the castes called Chettiars. [2]

The Vellalars are the famous cultivating classes (ryots) of the Tamil country and form an important community in Tanjore. The word Vellalar is derived from Vellanmai (Vellam or water plus anmai or management) meaning cultivation or tillage. There are many sub-sects among them and of these the most important are the Choliyars, the Pandyars, or the Karaikkattars, the Kongars, the Tuluvars, the Kondaikattiars (so named from their way of tying the hair), the Kodikkalars (betel-leaf gardeners), the Kanialars (land-owners), the Tondamandalam Melnadu Mudaliars, the Tondamandalam Kilnadu Mudaliars, the Ponneri Mudali, the Pundamalli Mudali, the Uttukkatu or the Urvalarnattu, the Yelur (Seven villages), the Sittakkattu and the Pandarams (Priests). It will be seen that most of these names indicate the places of their origin or the nature of their occupation. Among these sects the Karaikkattu or the Pandya and the Mudalis of Tondamandalam are usually recognized as superior by the others. The Vellalas call themselves either as Mudalis or Pillais or Pandarams. The celibate among the Pandarams, called Tambirans, wear orange coloured clothes and allow their hair to grow ; and to this class belong the heads of the important Maths. Among the Vellalas there are both Saivites and Vaishnavites. As a class the Vellalas are generally orthodox, and some of them, it is said, are even more orthodox than the Brahmins in their religious practices. Most of them are also vegetarians and teetotallers by tradition. They have, like

[1] Tanjore District Manual, pages 172–174.
[2] *Idem*, page 176.

the Brahmins, no caste panchayats, though they seem to have had them until about a hundred years ago. And they, like the Brahmins, do not normally worship the evil spirits. Besides this they wear the sacred thread while performing funeral ceremonies. Some of them observe a curious custom, according to which a man marrying a second wife, after the death of his first wife, has to marry a plantain tree first and then cut it down before tying the tali and a man marrying a third wife has to tie a tali first to the Erukkan plant, the idea underlying these customs being that the second and fourth wives are inauspicious and do not prosper. Although agriculture is the main occupation of the Vellalars they are now found in large numbers in Government service and trade. In olden days they were found to be very efficient karnams or accountants. [1]

The caste Chettiars belong to ten groups; the Vellalar Chettiar, the Cholapuram Chettiar, the Sittakkadu Chettiar, the Aduthurai Chettiar, the Nonakkadu Chettiar, the Tiruppundi Chettiar, the Arupattunadu Taleikkattu Chettiar, the Tamil Vyapari Chettiar, the Telugu Vyapari Chettiar and the Panju Chettiar. These names indicate either the places of their origin or the language spoken by them or their occupation. Besides these Chettiars, there are numerous persons belonging to inferior castes who have become merchants and assumed the title of Chettiar. Some of the Chettiar families abstain from animal food and follow the pure Vellalar customs and these are probably of the true Vellalar caste. The occupation of the Chettiars is generally trade. [2]

The Kavarais, apparently settlers from the Telugu country, speak Telugu with a large admixture of Tamil. They are divided into eleven principal sub-castes which do not intermarry with one another. They are jealous of the purity of their castes and rank by common consent immediately below the Vellalars and the Chettiars. They are spread over the whole district and are to be found in almost every profession. They are all ardent Vaishnavas. Many of them are called Nayakas; those engaged in bangle trade are called Chettiars, others engaged in agriculture are called Reddiars. [3]

There is a great deal of controversy about the origin and status of the Palliars or the Vanniyars. The name Palliar is said to denote their Pallava origin and the name Vanniar is said to denote Vannikula Kshatriyars which means Kshatriyars of the fire race. They regard themselves as superior to all other Non-Brahmin communities and some of them wear even the

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 81–82.
Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, 1909, Vol. VII, pages 361–389.
[2] Tanjore District Manual, pages 176–178.
[3] *Idem*, pages 183–184.

sacred thread. They are also known by several names such as Nayakar, Varma, Padaiyachi, Nayanar, Odayar and Goundar. Some of them claim to belong to the Chola race and call themselves Chembiars. These names, however, do not denote subdivisions or sects and all the Palliars freely interdine and intermarry. They are said to be strict in matters of caste and social customs. They have a peculiar funeral custom; they place a two anna piece on the forehead and a rice pot on the chest of the corpse, and these are taken away by the officiating barber and the Paraiyar. The Palliars of Kumbakonam are said to observe a curious marriage custom by which the bride's mother and often all her relatives are debarred from attending the marriage and the bride is kept gosha for all the days of the wedding. The Palliars in general perform ceremonies on the anniversaries of their parents' deaths and have caste panchayats, though these panchayats are now said to be dying out. Their occupation is generally cultivation, but they too like the other communities have taken to various professions, including Government service.[1]

The Kallars of Tanjore who were formerly branded as a class of thieves and robbers have now taken to agriculture and many of them are well-to-do agriculturists. They claim to be descended from the offspring of Indra and Ahalya. A fearless and virile race, they have acquired a great deal of power and exacted a social status almost equal to that of the Vellalars. The influence of the Brahmins and the Vellalars has not a little contributed to make them more advanced in their manners and customs than their brethren in the adjoining district of Madurai. They have caste subdivisions such as Ambanadu, Visanganadu, Sundaranadu or Kasanadu, Papanadu, Vadamalainadu, Kilvenganadu, Marunganadu and Terkittinadu. These subdivisions are again split up into groups like Onaiyar, " the wolfish ", Singattar "the lion-like," Mundurar, Irungalar, Vanattiraiyar, Sendapiriyar, Pallavarar, Tinnapiriyar, Setturar, Kandiyar, Kalingarayar, Senakkondar and Neduvandar. Their subdivisions are purely territorial, but what their groups signify it is difficult to say, except that some of them seem to signify the totem. Intermarriage among the subdivisions is not permitted, but interdining is allowed. They have caste panchayats, though in some places they are discontinuing these in imitation of the Vellalars. In their villages their own headmen decide the disputes between members of other lower castes imposing fines when necessary, as punishments. Although they profess to be Saivites, they are commonly spirit worshippers. Karuppan is their favourite deity. In some places on the Pudukkottai border, for fear of offending Karuppan, as soon as the wedding is over they suspend the

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 82–83.
Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. VI, 1909, pages 1–28.

tali on the bride's neck on cotton thread instead of on golden or silver thread as at the time of the wedding ceremony. A peculiar custom which they observe is that on the morning after the funeral before returning to the burial ground with the offerings, they walk round the offerings holding each others hands crying "Siva" three times. They do the same, it is said, at the ceremony called the Ettu Seygiradu. It is also said that their ceremonies in the Pattukkottai taluk show relics of marriage by capture. Among them divorced women are not outcasted; such women can contract honourable marriages. Nor is the man divorcing his wife looked down upon; he has only to pay her a maintenance allowance fixed by the village panchayat. Sometimes a woman having many children is allowed to seek a second husband on condition of paying her first husband her marriage expenses. In this case, as in the case of the widow who remarries, the children are left with the late husband. The women among them, it is thus clear, enjoy a great deal of freedom. It may also be stated here that their men are noted for their skill in bull-baiting which they usually do at the time of the Pongal festival. Indeed, in the Kallar caste as a whole, there is a wide range of civilization alike in social customs and occupations. The same caste which shows much enterprise in agriculture and vies with the Vellalars in social status also has in it the criminal classes, who are notorious for their thefts and robberies. Their criminal propensities will be dealt with in the chapter on Judicial Administration.[1]

Among the weaver classes there are six castes; the Patnulars (Sourashtras), the Chaliyars, the Kaikolars, the Cheniars, the Chedars and the Kannadiyars. The Patnulars are emigrants from Sourashtra. They speak a dialect of Gujerati, wear the sacred thread and belong to the Vaishnava sect. They do not marry outside their community and are by common consent given a place among the higher castes. The Chaliyars are an indigenous caste. They are Saivites and vegetarians but they are considered to be the lowest of the weaver castes. The Kaikolars are subdivided into clans; some of them are Saivites, some are Vaishnavites and some are Lingayats. All of them speak Tamil. Among Cheniars, Chedars and the Kannadiyars there are both Lingayats and Vaishnavites. The first two speak Telugu, while the third speak Kannada. The Lingayats are vegetarians and bury their dead, while the others burn them. The Patnulars are generally confined to Tanjore, Ayyampettai and Kumbakonam whereas the other castes are spread all over the district.[2]

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 83–85.

Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. III, 1909, pages 53–91.

[2] Tanjore District Manual, pages 185–186.

The Viswa Brahmins (the craftsmen) are an artisan class and are divided into five distinct castes; the goldsmiths, the brass and coppersmiths, the blacksmiths, the carpenters and the stone masons. Some of the Viswa Brahmins are Vaishnavites, while others are Saivites and Lingayats. Religion is, however, no bar to intermarriage among them. With the exception of a small caste of goldsmiths called Vaduga Viswa Brahmins who speak Telugu, all the rest speak Tamil. All Viswa Brahmins wear the sacred thread. They have priests of their own in large towns like Kumbakonam and Tanjore but in other places they call in the Brahmin priests for performing marriage and funeral ceremonies.[1]

The Vaniars and the Ilei Vaniars are two subdivisions of the oilmonger classes. They bear the title of Chettiar but are considered to be of a low caste probably because the crushing of gingelly seeds and the sale of gingelly oil are viewed as sinful acts in the Sastras. They have, however, taken to other trades as well and prospered considerably.[2]

The Melakkarars (musicians) are a caste chiefly found in Tanjore. There are among them two distinct groups, the Tamil and the Telugu Melakkarars. The former speak Tamil and follow customs similar to those of the Vellalars and other higher castes, while the latter speak Telugu and follow the customs of the Telugu Brahmins. Both are exclusive and will not eat in each other's houses. The Telugus commonly practise what is called the Periamelam, a band consisting of one or more clarionets (nagasarams), a pipe, a drum and a pair of cymbals. They do not associate themselves with dancing or dancing girls. The Tamils, on the other hand, practise both the Periamelam and the Chinnamelam or the nautch music in which vocal music is performed at the time of dancing to the accompaniment of pipe and cymbals. Those among them who perform Chinnamelam are called Nattuvans; and these people train the dancing women. Neither the Telugu nor the Tamil Melakkarars have panchayats of their own, but they hold caste meetings to decide caste matters. Both of them claim a superior status; the Tamil Melakkarars claim to have been originally higher castes like the Kallars and the Vellalars.[3]

The Karaiyars are the fishermen of the coast and occupy a low social position. But their marriage and funeral ceremonies resemble those of the Vellalars and their customs regarding divorce and widow remarriage resemble those of the Kallars. Like the Valaiyars and the Paraiyars they have a funeral custom by which the heir returning from the funeral has to

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[1] Tanjore District Manual, pages 186–189.

[2] *Idem*, pages 189–190.

[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 85–86.

knock over a pestle placed in front of the house. The heir has also to abstain from meat for eight days after the funeral. They consider themselves superior to the Palliyars, the Valaiyars and the Nokkars and call themselves the Karaiturai (sea-side) Vellalars. They observe the anniversaries of their parents' deaths and wear the sacred thread at funerals. They have no exogamous or endogamous subdivisions among them. They have well-organized caste panchayats under their headmen to decide all sorts of civil, criminal and marital disputes. It is said that they strictly adhere to the decisions of their panchayats. They are generally Saivites but they worship also minor sea gods like Pavadairayan and Padaithalaidaivam. Before setting out on their fishing expeditions they salute the gods, the sea and the nets to favour them with a good catch. Many of them in Nagapattinam are however Christians.[1]

The Nokkars (meaning those who look) are a caste who were formerly rope-dancers. But among them are now to be found traders, cultivators, artisans, jugglers, blowers of conches and undertakers. The majority of them are said to subsist chiefly by officiating at the funerals and marriages of the Non-Brahmins. At the funerals they act as undertakers and blow conches in front of the mourners; at the marriages they blow conches in front of the processions. They are also occasionally employed as talaiyaris to the panchayats of other castes. Persons engaged in these low pursuits are despised by their brethren who are cultivators, traders and artisans. The Nokkars bury their dead and perform their parents' anniversary ceremonies. They are usually looked down upon by the other castes, but they, in their turn, look down upon the Valaiyars, the Paraiyars, the Pallars and the Chakkilyars.[2]

The Valaiyars (from Valai meaning net) were originally hunters. Many among them, however, have now taken to cultivation and menial service. They are divided into endogamous sects called Vedar, Sulundukkarar and Ambalakkarar; the first are hunters, the second are torch-bearers and the third are cultivators. They occupy a low position in society and many of their customs resemble those of the Paraiyars and the Pallars. They, however, put on the sacred thread at funerals, have priests and occasionally perform their parents' anniversaries. They allow divorce and widow remarriage and some of them, it is said, condone pre-marital unions on payment of fines. According to their funeral customs the heir has to upset a mortar placed in front of his house after returning from the burial ground and then to go and worship a lamp kept inside the house. Ordinarily they

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 86–87.

[2] *Idem*, page 87.

have caste panchayats. They are all devoted to spirit worship; and at Orattanadu every Valaiyar backyard is said to contain an Odian tree on which the spirit is supposed to dwell.[1]

The Paraiyars are numerically the largest caste and are mostly agricultural labourers. They are quite at the bottom of the social scale, although their position has been in the eye of law considerably improved by social legislation. They and the Chakkiliyars are apparently the only castes in the district which eat beef and it is this that chiefly accounts for the low position allotted to them by the other castes. And yet, they are said to despise other castes like the Pallars and the Chakkiliyars. They are divided into four sects; the Sambar, the Tangalar, the Maltar and the Appar or the Ayyar. The Sambars are regarded as superior to others as it was amongst them that Nandanar, the famous devotee of Chidambaram, was born. Intermarriage among the sects is prohibited and marriages among them are said to be strictly binding. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies resemble to some extent those of the higher castes. Among them, however, when a man dies camphor is not burnt in the house but at the junction of the three lanes and an impression of the dead man's palm is taken in cow-dung and stuck to the wall. In some places they have the funeral custom of placing three rice-pounders and a pot of water outside the door. The heir, on return from the funeral, sits on the rice-pounders, chews a piece of fish, spits thrice and then goes inside the house and worships a light. They do not ordinarily observe their parents' anniversaries, though in some places they do so. They have little caste temples of their own, though they chiefly worship the spirits. Besides being agricultural labourers, they are also employed on menial duties like the burning of dead bodies and the beating of drums [2].

The Pallars who are also numerically strong occupy the same low position as the Paraiyars, although they consider themselves superior to the Paraiyars and the Chakkiliyars on the ground that they do not eat beef. They are like the Paraiyars mostly agricultural labourers and their women are said to be expert at transplanting paddy. Like the Kallars they say that they are descended from Indra, and in token thereof their brides wear a wreath of flowers. They have four subdivisions, the Vaykkarars or the Pannikkars, the Terkkitti Pallars, the Kurumba Pallars and the Kalatti Pallars. Intermarriage among these groups is not permitted. They have caste panchayats which they treat with great respect and which decide a variety of their disputes. A curious punishment for unchastity they have is that of making the

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 87–88.
[2] *Idem*, pages 88–89.

woman walk round the village assembly with a basket of mud on her head. [1]

The Chakkiliyars are shoe makers, leather dressers and tanners. In some parts of the district they speak Tamil while in other parts they speak Telugu. The latter wear the namam and are apparently emigrants from the Telugu country. The Chakkiliyars are assigned the lowest status in society. [2]

Besides these castes there are some other castes like the Kusavars (potters), the Vannars (washermen), the Maruthuvars (barbers), the Shanars (toddy tappers) and the Andiars (beggars) in the district. But as these castes are found in all the districts and as there is nothing peculiar about them in Tanjore they are not dealt with here.

Turning to the social and religious customs of the Hindus, these have in the main remained the same through centuries here as elsewhere. The people living in towns, it is true, have caught a veneer of European manners and customs in dress and behaviour; and those living in villages have also, to some extent, become affected by it. But neither in the case of the great majority of the people in towns, nor in the case of the greater majority of the people in villages, can it be said that any marked changes have taken place in matters like food, marriages, funerals, festivals and other observances. The description therefore of the social and religious life of the Hindus given below may be said to be generally applicable to all the Hindus whether living in towns or villages. Some differences, of course, do exist in matters like rituals in marriage and funeral ceremonies among the various castes and sub-castes. Some of these have already been indicated ; the rest will be indicated as we go on.

The Hindus as well as the Christians and other communities have taken to all the amenities provided by the towns. Here they travel on motor cars and make use of the electricity, the radio, the newspapers and the like. Here they have entered into all sorts of professions and taken up all sorts of avocations with a freedom unrestrained by any caste rules or regulations. Here are to be found among them lawyers, doctors, officials, merchants, artisans and so on down to beggars. Here they live in luxury as well as in poverty, in big houses, in exclusive quarters as well as in small tenements in slums. Such of them as are prosperous send their children here to schools and colleges and freely partake of the entertainments provided by clubs, cinema halls, coffee houses, etc. Here again they wear all kinds of dresses, European as well as Indian ; the hat, the coat, the trousers and the shoes are as commonly met with here as the turban or the cap, the shirt, the dhoti

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 90.
[2] *Idem*, page 204.

and the chappals. Indeed in the towns their castes can hardly be distinguished by their professions, pursuits and behaviour.

Not so in the villages. There the caste distinctions are more marked and the Brahmin, the Non-Brahmin and the Harijan quarters are more clearly distinguished from each other than in the towns. There also the professions and the avocations the people follow are in most cases more in accordance with castes than in the towns. The houses are ordinarily built there of brick and mud as stone is unobtainable in most parts. Where however, as in the upland tracts, laterite is available it is used for house building. The roofs are more frequently tiled though the rafters are commonly made of bamboos for want of timber. Where the houses are not tiled they are thatched with straw or palm leaf. The old type of house of the Brahmins and the Vellalars usually contains a pial or a raised platform with a door on one side leading into an entrance hall (reli) and beyond this against the side wall of the house is a small courtyard (muttam) open to the sky with a verandah (talvaram) all round it. Facing the courtyard and reaching across the other side wall is a roofed open hall (kudam) the floor of which is sometimes slightly higher than that of the verandah. In front of and behind the kudam and opening out of it are two rooms occupying the front and back corners of the house. the former of which is generally a living room and the latter a kitchen. Behind the house is a cattle-shed and beyond it a backyard. Great varieties are found in the houses of other castes, but even the poorer class houses contain in this district a hall and one or two rooms. The houses are generally constructed after consulting the Viswa Brahmins who have an architectural science of their own.[1]

So far as the dress worn by the generality of the Hindus in towns and villages is concerned, the men wear white dhotis. The more respectable among them wear the long dhoti in the form of panchakacham or mulakacham ; the others simply wrap the short dhoti round their waists. The former put on also shorter clothes or towels over their shoulders or wear shirts nowadays. The boys wear the small undercloth (komanam) and a waist cloth or put on shirts and shorts. The women generally wear handloom sarees, or silk sarees, of various colours and patterns, six to nine yards in length. The mode of wearing the sarees varies among the Brahmins. Among the Non-Brahmin castes the saree is passed once round the waist and a knot is tied to keep it in place and then a fold (kusavam) is made for ornament's sake over one of the hips or in front. The saree is then passed tightly round the waist and the end of it is brought up in front of the breast,

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 62.

thrown over the left shoulder and tucked into the waist behind. The higher caste women show only a little of the ornamental fold (kusavam) the rest being concealed beneath the saree, while the lower caste women let it drop down the hip to the length of about a foot. All the Brahmin women pass the saree between their legs, but the Maharashtra and the Kanarese Brahmin women do this by passing one corner of the ornamental fold above the lower part of the saree, pull this up to show a part of their legs and leave the portion of the saree passing between the legs visible. All others conceal this portion by bringing the saree again round the waist. The Smartha Tamil women make the ornamental fold at the left side, the Vaishnava Tamil women do not wear it at all and others put it in front. The Pallar and the Paraiyar women wear the sarees rather high above the knee; the Kallar and the Valaiyar women avoid wearing dark blue sarees for fear of offending Karuppan to whom that colour is said to be sacred. The Brahmin widows who shave their heads wear white sarees and always bring the end of the saree over their heads. As to the wearing of choli, bodice and petticoats, most of the younger women wear them. Tattooing was formerly common but now it is fast disappearing.[1] All Hindu women of whatever caste or sect, except widows, wear a pottu or tilakam of "Kumkum" or "Chandu". They are also fond of jewellery. The higher classes go in for a variety of ornaments like neck chains, pendants, girdles, bangles, ear-rings, nose-screws, etc., made of gold, and often studded with diamonds, rubies or other precious stones. The lower classes go in for similar cheaper jewellery of silver (sometimes gilt) and artificial stones. All women love flowers and all of them, except widows, adorn their hair with them on almost all occasions. The Christian and Muslim women do not put on the tilakam.

The staple foodgrain of the people alike in towns and villages is rice; in the upland regions where ragi, cholam and varagu are grown, these also are eaten. All Brahmins and some of the higher castes of Non-Brahmins abstain from meat. The Paraiyars and the Chakkiliyars are the only classes among the Hindus who eat beef. Pork is eaten by the Valaiyars, the Pallars, the Paraiyars and the Chakkiliyars. The Non-Brahmins, the Christians and the Muslims generally eat mutton, fish and the ordinary edible birds. The Christians eat pork and the Muslims beef, in addition. The grown-ups among the Brahmins and the other higher castes have only two meals a day, one at midday and the other at night; but they supplement these meals by tiffin and coffee or tea in the morning and in the afternoon. Their meals commonly consist of rice, ghee, dholl, rasam, sambar made of vegetables, appalams, pickles,

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 62–64.

curds or buttermilk. On festive occasions these are supplemented by sweet and savoury dishes and fruits. Orthodox Brahmin widows do not take night meal; instead they tak light food like cakes of rice and blackgram. The lower classes have generally three meals, breakfast in the morning of cold rice, a lunch at midday of hot or cold rice and a good dinner at night of hot rice, meat, soup or curry. Cold rice at breakfast is nowadays widely replaced by coffee.[1]

A variety of indigenous games are played by the young and old of all castes and communities. The children play with dolls of various kinds. They also play at odd and even (the one holding seeds in the hand and the other guessing odd or even), blindman's-buff and a game called Nilapuchi, in which two parties try to catch each other, the members of the one being allowed to be caught only when venturing into the moonlight and the other only when in the shade. The boys play the game of Otti (tossing up and catching tamarind seeds), Kattam (various games played with pieces on a board), Kittipullu (tip-cat), Kittipandu (a kind of rounders), Pachaikudirai (a kind of leap-frog), marbles, and kite flying. They also play a popular game called Valichatangudu in which a boy has to catch other boys, while holding his breath. The men play the fifteenth tiger (a kind of fox and geese), chess and cards. The girls play the same indoor games as the boys besides Kolattam, Achoponga (dancing round a lamp or idol hand in hand) and other dances. The women play various games with cowries on a board and have other quiet indoor pastimes.[2]

The lives of the Hindus are enlivened by a great variety of festivals. The most important of these common to all sects and castes are the New Year's Day, the Saraswathi or Ayudha Puja, the Deepavali and the Sankranti or Pongal. The New Year's day for Tamilians falls generally in the middle of April and for the Maharashtras, the Kannadigas and the Telugus in the latter part of March. The Saraswathi Puja falls in October and is dedicated to Saraswathi, the Goddess of learning. On this day the Brahmins offer worship to the books and the other castes to their tools and instruments. The Deepavali which commemorates the destruction of the demon Narakasura by Sri Krishna falls in October or November. It is observed by having an oil bath in the early morning (considered to be as sacred as a bath in the Ganges), by the wearing of new clothes and by the firing of crackers and other fireworks. The Sankranti or Pongal is the day on which the Sun passes from Dakshinayanam to Uttarayanam, i.e., from Sagittarius to Capricorn. It falls in the middle of

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District. Vol. I, 1915, pages 64–65.

[2] *Idem*, pages 65–66.

January. On this day pongal or sweetened rice is offered to the Sun and other Gods. The day following this festival is called the Mattu Pongal, or the festival of the cows and oxen; on this day the animals are all washed, and decked with flower garlands and their horns painted.[1]

Besides these important festivals commonly observed by all the Hindus, there are several other festivals observed by some or all of them. Of these the following may be mentioned. Sri Ramanavami, the birth day of Sri Rama, which falls at the end of March is celebrated particularly by all Vaishnavites. Padinettamperukku celebrating the rising of the Cauvery is observed by all Tamilians on the eighteenth day of the Tamil month of Adi (about the end of July). Upakarmam or Avaniavittam which comes in August or September is the day on which the Brahmins and other castes who wear the sacred thread change it for a new one. Sri Jayanti, the birthday of Sri Krishna falling about the end of August, is observed specially by all Vaishnavites. Vinayaka Chaturthi which follows shortly afterwards and which is dedicated to Ganesa or Pillaiyar is celebrated by all Hindus. Navaratri and Vijaya Dasami, which come in October and last for ten days and which commemorate the victory of Goddess Durga over the demon Mahishasura, are observed generally by all Hindus. It is celebrated by the display of dolls and puja to Durga. Kartikai occurring in the Tamil month of Kartikai (November-December) sacred to Siva is celebrated by all Tamilians by decorating the front of the houses by numerous tiny oil lamps. Vaikunta Ekadasi which falls in December is an important day for Vaishnavites; all classes of people generally fast on this day. Maha Sivaratri, sacred for all Saivites, falls in the beginning of March and is a day of fasting and prayer.[2]

There are also many other temple festivals celebrated by the numerous temples all over the district. Of these, the most important is the Mahamakham festival which takes place every thirteenth year at Kumbakonam and attracts an immense concourse of pilgrims from all parts of India. A bath in the Mahamakham tank on this occasion is held to be as sacred as a bath in the Ganges. The other chief festivals are the Tula festival at Mayuram and the Saptastanam or the Saptastalam festival at Thiruvaiyar. Both of these festivals attract large numbers of people.[3]

Of the ceremonies observed by the people, the most important are the marriage and funeral ceremonies. An attempt is made here to give a brief description of these ceremonies first in the case of the Brahmins and then in the case of the Non-Brahmins.

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1 Tanjore District Manual, pages 220–221.

2 *Idem*, pages 223–225.

3 Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 71.

The Brahmins, it will be seen, have imposed some of their customs and rites upon the Non-Brahmins, although the Non-Brahmins have preserved some of the customs of their own.

Among the Brahmins the marriage rites in vogue, as has already been seen, resemble those of Vedic times in all essentials; and each section of the Brahmins closely follows the Grihya Sutras relating to its Sakha. A marriage is generally arranged only if the horoscopes of the boy and the girl agree, if they do not belong to the same gotras and if the girl is not older than the boy. The horoscopes are examined by professional astrologers. In former days it was usual for the bridegroom to pay a small sum of money as a bride price to her mother, but nowadays the opposite practice of paying a handsome dowry by the bride's father to the bridegroom has become the rule. The marriage ceremony is performed in the bride's house, the bride's father generally bearing all the expenditure. Formerly the ceremony used to last four or five days ; nowadays it is completed even in a day.

The ceremony begins with the Nischayathartham or betrothal and is followed by the performance of various Vratams consisting of oblations to the sacred fire by the bridegroom. He then dresses himself like a married man and proceeds on a mock pilgrimage called Paradesapravesam or Kasiyatra and is met and brought back by the bride's father. The bride is now brought out, decked in her wedding clothes and the pair are brought face to face and made to exchange garlands. Formerly they used to be taken up on the shoulders of their maternal uncles for the purpose of exchanging garlands. The couple then sit on a swing and married women go round them thrice carrying water, light, fruits and betel. After this the couple are conducted into the house and seated on the marriage dais. The ceremony proper now begins with the proclamation of the gotras of the bride and bridegroom so as to ensure that they do not belong to the same gotra. The bridegroom does puja to Ganapati, if he is a Saivite and to Vishwaksena, if he is a Vaishnavite. He then performs the Ankurarpana (the seed sowing ceremony). Four earthen pans are arranged in the form of a square, east, west, north and south and the fifth pan is set down in the centre of the square. The pan to the east represents Indra, that to the west Varuna, that to the south Yama and that to the north Soma. In each of these pans are placed nine kinds of grain soaked in water and the devatas are invoked.

The next stage is the tying of the wrist thread. Two cotton threads are laid on a vessel representing Varuna and after the recitation of Vedic verses the bridegroom takes one of the threads and, after dipping it in turmeric paste, holds it with his left thumb, smears some of the paste on it with his right

thumb and forefinger, and ties it on the left wrist of the bride. The purohit ties the other thread on the right wrist of the bridegroom who facing the assembly proclaims "I am going to take the bride." He then invokes the gods Indra, Surya and Bhaga to bless the marriage. The purohit once more proclaims the marriage and those assembled bless the couple. The father of the bride and the bridegroom now wash each other's feet with milk and water, after which the bride sits on her father's lap and her mother stands at her side. The bride's father places the bride's hand in that of the bridegroom and both the father and mother pour water over the united hands of the couple, the father reciting the sloka "I am giving you a virgin decorated with jewels to enable me to obtain religious merit." This is called the 'Dhare' (pouring water) ceremony. It forms the binding portion of the marriage ceremony among Telugu Brahmins and some Non-Brahmin castes. The couple then sit in front of the sacred fire and the bride's father after pouring ghee as an oblation and reciting some mantras pours some water over the hands of the bridegroom and offers him a mixture of honey, plantain fruit and ghee and afterwards a coconut and plantains. The bride next sits on a heap or bundle of paddy and the bridegroom invokes the gods to bless her. A yoke is now brought and one end of it is placed on the head of the bride and some mantras pronounced. The bridegroom then gives a new and costly silk cloth (Kurai) to the bride who puts it on and sits on her father's lap. This is followed by the bridegroom tying the tali on the bride's neck when all the Brahmins bless the couple by throwing rice over their heads. A darbha waist cord is passed round the waist of the bride and the couple now perform the homam. The bridegroom takes hold of the bride's right wrist and pressing the fingers passes his hand over the united fingers three times. This is called Panigrahanam. The next item is Sapthapathi or the taking of the seven steps which is generally considered the most binding part of the ceremony. In this the bridegroom lifts the left foot of the bride seven times reciting certain mantras. A homam is then made. The bride then treads on a stone thrice and some fried paddy is put into the sacred fire each time. The darbha girdle is now removed from the bride's waist when everybody disperses.

Towards evening the bride and the bridegroom sit before the sacred fire, while the Brahmins recite the Vedic mantras. A male child who has not lost his brothers or sisters is now made to sit on the lap of the bride and given a plantain fruit, when the bridegroom invokes prosperity and progeny to bless the house. The couple are then shown Dhruva (the Pole Star) and Arundhathi (Ursa Major) and these are worshipped. The Stalipaka ceremony is afterwards performed. In this the bride should cook some rice and the bridegroom should offer it as an oblation to the sacred fire. In practice, however, some food is

brought and placed in the fire. The purohit now decorates a *Ficus* stick with darbha grass and gives it to the bridegroom. It is placed in the roof or somewhere inside the house near the seed pans.

On the second and third days homams are performed in the morning and evening and the Nalangu ceremony is gone through. In this the couple sit before trays containing betel leaves, areca nuts, fruits, flowers and turmeric paste and the women sing songs. Taking a little of the turmeric paste mixed with chunam, the bride makes marks by drawing lines over the feet (nalangu idal) of the bridegroom. Arati is then offered followed by the distribution of tambulam. On the fourth day the Brahmins make the couple sit amidst them and, after the recitation of Vedic verses, bless them. The shoulders of the couple are then smeared with turmeric paste made red with chunam and a mark is made with the same paste on their foreheads. This is called Pachai Kalyanam. It is peculiar to Tamil Brahmins, both the Smarthas and the Vaishnavas. The bride and the bridegroom are then made to exchange garlands. Towards the evening a procession called Amman Kolam is got up at the expense of the maternal uncle of the bride. The bride is dressed up as a boy and another girl is dressed up as the bride. They are taken in procession through the streets and on their return the pseudo-bridegroom is made to speak to the real bridegroom in rather insolent terms and some mock play is indulged in. The real bridegroom dressed as a groom or a gumasta of the pseudo-bridegroom is sometimes treated as a thief. Among Sri Vaishnavas, after the Pachai ceremony, the bridal couple are made to roll a coconut to and fro across the dais amidst the chanting of the songs of Andal by the assembled Brahmins. Tambulam (of which a little together with some money is set apart for Andal) is then distributed to all. The family priest now calls out the names and gotras of those who have become related to the couple; and as each person's name is called out, he or she is supposed to make a present of clothes, money, etc., to the couple. Among Telugu and Kannada Brahmins, instead of the Pachai Kalyanam, another ceremony called Nagavalli is performed. In this thirty-two lights and two vessels representing Siva and Parvati are arranged in the form of a square. Unbleached thread soaked in turmeric paste is passed round the square and tied to the pandal. The couple sit in front of the square and after doing puja cut the thread and take their seats within the square. The bridegroom then ties a tali of black glass beads on the bride's neck symbolically in the presence of all the Gods which are here represented by a number of small pots round the fire. Close to the pots are designed the figures of two elephants, one in rice grains and the other in salt. After going round the pots the

couple bargain as to the prices of the animals. This is followed by a burlesque on domestic life and the introduction of the bride to her new relations by marriage and the making of the present of tambulam and turmeric.

A mock marriage is sometimes celebrated amongst the Brahmins, when a person marries a third wife. The third marriage is held to be inauspicious, as the bride would become a widow. The man is therefore made to marry the arka (Erukku) plant and the real marriage thus becomes the fourth. In orthodox fashion it is celebrated on a Sunday or a Monday when the constellation Hastham is visible. The bridegroom and a Brahmin priest accompanied by a third Brahmin repair to a place where the arka plant is growing. The plant is decorated with a cloth and a piece of string and invoked by the bridegroom to avert the evils of the third marriage. The bridegroom then asks the plant to marry him and become his third wife. After this all the ceremonies such as the homam, tali-tying, etc., are performed by the Brahmins as at a regular marriage. The plant is then cut down and the marriage is declared to be over.[1]

Among the Non-Brahmin castes a boy should not marry the daughter of his maternal aunt or his paternal uncle, but he is encouraged to marry the daughter of his sister, his maternal uncle or his paternal aunt. In some castes such as the Kallars, the Palliars, the Paraiyars and the Valaiyars, the boy is held to possess an actual right to the hand of his paternal aunt's daughter to the exclusion of all other suitors. Generally, an eldest son should not marry an eldest daughter, nor should a boy marry a girl older than himself. The bride's mother is paid a bride's price (parisappanam or mulaippal kuli or the price of suckling) by the bridegroom; 30 fanams or 5 rupees was formerly the sum commonly paid. The betrothal usually takes place in the bride's house; the boys' father solemnly utters the words " the girl is mine, the money is thine " and is answered, " the money is mine and the girl is thine ". A marriage contract is then drawn up among some Vellalars, Telugu Melakkarars and Valaiyars. The marriage is usually performed in the bridegroom's house, except in the case of the Kallars and the Pallars who celebrate it in the bride's house. The marriage ceremonies generally last for three days save among the Pallars and the Paraiyars who take only one day. There are roughly three stages in the ceremonies, each ordinarily occupying one day; the tying of the tali and the attendant rites one day, a procession round the village another day and the final ceremony the third day.

[1] Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. I, 1909, pages 278–298.

The visiting marriage party is always received with distinction. The arrival of the Kallar bridegroom in the bride's house is specially ceremonious. Mounted on a horse and attended by his maternal uncle he is met by a youth from the bride's house who is also mounted and then conducted to the marriage booth at the bride's house. Here he is given tambulam and a rupee by the bride's father and his feet are washed in milk and water and adorned with toe-rings by the bride's mother. Among the Vellalars and the Telugu Melakkarars, the bride is given a light, and among the Palliars and the Tamil Melakkarars a measure of the paddy on the top of which is placed a writing style and a light. The Pallars and the Paraiyars, however,observe this custom only when the girl first goes to live with her husband. Next, the bride and the bridegroom are seated on a board (among the Kallars on a bench) and their hands are touched with darbha grass dipped in gingelly oil and sandal water so as to ward off the evil eye. They are then given new clothes and their wrists are tied with saffron thread to free them from the obligation to perform any polluting duty till the marriage is completed. Most castes at this stage erect what is called the Alli Arasani. This is done in three ways. In one case empty pots are placed one on top of the other beside an odian branch planted in the ground. In another, a pyramid is made beside the odian branch by placing mud effigies of a camel and a horse on top of a mud elephant and a pot on top of the camel. This latter method is peculiar to the Kallars and the Pallars. In the third case two pots of water are placed side by side, a bamboo stick is placed between and at the foot of the bamboo is placed another pot filled with milk with a piece of coral and a pearl in it. This method is observed by the Telugu Melakkarars and called Palakomma. The Alli Arasani is intended to represent the gods at the marriage ceremony, and it is worshipped by offering rice, milk and jaggery.

Meanwhile, as among the Brahmins, the nine seed pans containing different kinds of grain and symbolising fruitfulness are worshipped. Before the bride is handed over to the father-in-law, the bridegroom leaves the marriage booth and goes alone to ask a blessing at the shrine of Pillaiyar. On his return his feet are washed with milk and adorned with toe-rings and the bride is handed over to the father-in-law by her father after pouring water from his hand to show that he absolutely parts from her. The gift of the bride is also accompanied by a present of tambulam and a silver coin. This is the 'Dhare' ceremony based on the Brahmin custom. The tali is then worshipped and ordinarily tied by the bridegroom as in the case of the Brahmins. A lamp is often held by the bridegroom's sister or some married women, while the tali is tied. It is, however, left unlighted by the Kallars for

fear that it might go out and thus cause an evil omen. The sister of the bridegroom either helps or herself ties the tali among the Kallars. Among the Kallars, as among many other lower castes, the sister ties the tali, if the bride and bridegroom are widow and widower. The tali which is generally hung on a cotton thread is renewed on the next occurrence of the Padinettamperukku feast and some castes annually renew it on that day.

The next stage of the ceremony is for the bridegroom to take the bride's foot and place it on a stone mortar and, in some castes, to decorate it with rings. While doing this, he points up to the sky and bids the bride to look at the star Arundhati as in the case of the Brahmins. Some castes, however, do not observe this ceremony. Coloured rice is then thrown over the couple and they are blessed and given milk and fruit. The marriage procession which is the next item is observed by all castes. On the second day among the Telugu Melakkarars the bridegroom has to steal a metal vessel from the house of his father-in-law. On the last day of the ceremonies, wedding presents are given by all the guests to the newly married pair. All present then throw saffron water over each other. The seed pans are now taken and thrown in a tank. The bride, except among the Paraiyars and the Pallars, brings back a water pot and the couple plant an odiyan plant together. On one of the following days they are entertained by the girl's father.[1]

So much about marriage ceremonies. Turning to the funeral ceremonies we may also describe first those generally observed among the Brahmins and then those observed among the Non-Brahmins. When a Brahmin is about to die, he is removed from his bed and laid on a floor. If he dies on Dhanishtapanchami (inauspicious) day he is taken out of the house and placed in the courtyard or the pial. Some prayers are then uttered and sometimes a cow is presented to the Brahmin priest (*godanam*) so as to render the passage of life through the various parts of the body as easy as possible. As soon as he is dead, his body is washed, religious marks are made on the forehead and parched paddy and betel are scattered over and around it by the son. The sacred fire is then lighted, rice is cooked in a new earthen pot and a new cloth is thrown over the corpse. A simple bier of bamboos and straw is then prepared and four bearers are selected. To each of the bearers darbha grass is given in token of his office to carry the corpse to the burning ground. The eldest son who is the funeral celebrant and his brothers, if any, are shaved and the last respects are paid by the widow and the female relations by going round the corpse three times. The funeral procession then starts consisting of men alone preceded by the eldest

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 73–75.

son carrying a mud pot containing fire. On the way to the burning ground, the corpse is sometimes placed on the ground and some mantras are recited and cooked rice offered to propitiate evil spirits. At the burning ground certain mantras are again recited and rites performed, after which the body is placed on the funeral pyre and the pyre is set fire to by the eldest son. He then carries a pot filled with water, having a hole at the bottom through which water trickles out on his shoulders, three times round the corpse and at the end of the third round throws it down and breaks it. Sometimes, in the case of respected elders, the son and all the relations present scatter darbha grass repeating certain vedic verses. The son then pours a little water on a stone and sprinkles himself with it and the rest follow him. After this they pass through a bundle of darbha grass and twigs held aloft by the priest and gaze for a moment at the sun. Everbody then goes to a tank and bathes. All these rites are performed and the corpse is cremated in the course of a few hours. No food is cooked in the house on the day of death.

On returning home the son performs the rites of Nagna Sradham and Pashana Sthapanam ; the former by presenting clothes, lamp and money to a Brahmin and offering balls of cooked rice to the spirit and the latter by setting up two stones, one in the house and the other on the bank of a tank. For ten days libations of water mixed with gingelly seeds and balls of cooked rice are offered to the stones. On the day after cremation the relations assemble at the burning ground for performing the ceremony called Sanchayanam which consists in extinguishing the burning embers and removing the fragments of bones from the ashes. These bones are taken away in a mud vessel and later thrown into a sacred river or buried in the ground. On the tenth day a large quantity of food is cooked and heaped on plantain leaves when all the female relations go round it wailing. The food is thrown into a tank and the tali of the widow is removed. In former days her head used to be clean shaved on that day ; but nowadays most of them do not undergo this operation. All the agnates should be present on the tenth day to perform tarpanam or oblations of water. After a bath a homam is performed. On the eleventh day a Brahmin is fed after going through Sradha rites. On the twelfth day the important Sradha-like ceremony is performed. At the close of this ceremony, six balls of cooked rice are offered to three ancestors. The balls are arranged in two rows with some space between them and some cooked rice is placed in a line between them. This is divided with darbha grass into three portions and each portion is arranged close to the balls of rice. This is for uniting the dead man with the pitris. A cow is now usually presented to a Brahmin to render the crossing of the river Vaitarani easy for the departed soul.

On the thirteenth day, a feast is held and domestic worship is carried out at the close of which verses composed in praise of the deceased called charama slokas are read.

In the course of the year following the death, twelve monthly and four quarterly Sradhas are performed by the son. Annual Sradhas are performed thereafter; but if the son performs a Sradha at Gaya, it is not obligatory upon him to perform the annual Sradha. The annual Sradhas consist of homam, offering of cooked rice to the pitris and the feeding of one or two or three Brahmins. [1]

In regard to the funeral ceremonies of the Non-Brahmins, the dead are usually burnt by the higher castes, as in the case of Brahmins, and buried by the lower castes. When a man dies, a coconut is broken and camphor or incense is lighted and until this is done no one sheds tears. When a wife dies, some object, a coconut, a light or a tali is placed in the corpse's hand and then given to the husband and this gives him freedom to marry again. Among the lower castes when a husband dies, the widow places a similar object in the dead man's hand and thus expresses her freedom to remarry. Among the Tamil Melakkarars, the Paraiyars and the Pallars, the widower or widow offers tambulam to the dead. Generally all lower classes entertain relations of the dead with tambulam, cheroots and toddy (in former days before prohibition). The corpse is then shaved and bathed and the widow also bathes. The higher castes strike the rice mortar with a pestle and some Tamil verses are spoken. The corpse is covered with a new cloth which is red for a woman and white for a man and placed on a palanquin or, in the case of the lowest classes, on a simple bier, and taken in procession to the burning or burial ground, only men being allowed to accompany it. On the way, fried rice is thrown on the road, the idea being that the ghost while attempting to come back to the house will stop to pick them up and thus be prevented from arriving before daybreak. The palanquin or the bier is then placed on the pyre and rice is placed on the mouth of the dead by everyone present, each man paying three pice to the attendant barber as he does so. A water pot is thrice carried round the corpse and then broken by the heir or son who next sets fire to the pyre by holding a lighted stick to it with his face averted. Among many castes, the heir at this stage is made to chew some margosa leaves. The mourners then bathe and return home. No meals are cooked in the house of the dead that day. The Valaiyars and some of the Kallars and the Paraiyars put a pot filled with cow-dung or water, a broom-stick and a fire-brand at some place where three roads meet or in front of the house. It is intended to prevent the ghost from returning to the house.

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[1] Castes and Tribes of Southern India by Edgar Thurston, Vol. I, 1909, pages 299–305.

The next day the mourners return to the burning ground headed by a Nokkar blowing a conch. Milk is poured on the bones and they are collected and thrown into the water. The heir and the relations then wash their hands and feet with milk to remove the pollution and to signify that they have for ever parted with the dead.

For the next thirteen days, the mourners generally abstain from meat or from both sugar and meat. The only ceremony performed during this period is the worship of the cloth of the dead man (Ettu Seygiradu) by offering it cakes some day between the second and the eleventh. On the sixteenth day, except in the case of the Telugu Melakkarars, on the tenth day following the Brahmin custom, the final ceremony or karmantaram takes place. On the previous night the dead man's soul is worshipped in the form of two bricks (in the case of the Paraiyars and the Pallars only one brick) with offerings of four kinds of cakes, one for each of the watches in the night. During this night, the widow's tali is removed, if it has not been taken off on the day of death. The karmantaram ceremony is more or less based on the custom of the Brahmins and its object is to cause the soul of the dead to enter into the company of the ancestors of the family. The corpse is again burnt in effigy with mantrams and the ceremony of collecting the bones, etc., is re-enacted. The bricks are offered thirty-two balls of rice and then thrown into the river. Afterwards six or seven plantain leaves filled with rice and other offerings are placed on the ground; six of these are intended for Siva, Vishnu, the three forefathers and the priest; the seventh is not particularly intended for anyone but is merely put there along with a bowl of water, so that the spirit may quench its thirst on the way to heaven. Four balls of rice are then made for the three forefathers and the deceased; the deceased's ball is broken up and mixed with the others so as to symbolise his union with his ancestors. Anniversaries are performed by all the castes except the Valaiyars, the Pallars and the Paraiyars.[1]

Turning to the gods worshipped by the people, it is well known that Tanjore district is the home of numerous temples and shrines built and endowed in olden days by its kings and their pious subjects and remains even today a stronghold of Hinduism. Here are the temples and shrines of Siva, Vishnu and a whole hierarchy of lesser gods as will be seen from the Gazetteer section of this book. Here the Hindus worship their orthodox gods as the visible symbols of the invisible Supreme. Here in all the temples worship is carried on strictly according to the traditional agamas. Here also are situated the famous Sankaracharya Math at Kumbakonam and the Dharmapuram, the Tiruvaduturai, the Tiruppanandal and the Tiruppagalur Maths. And yet this land of orthodox religion

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 75-77.

is also the land of unorthodox religions and superstitions. Dravidian culture has here mingled with Aryan culture to produce the existing pattern of Hinduism. It is, however, no wonder that this should be so. Hinduism is so vast, so all embracing, that it has gathered in its fold all kinds of gods, all kinds of worship and all kinds of superstitions, Dravidian as well as Pre-Dravidian. And even among the very Brahmins who profess orthodox religion are to be found many who believe also in unorthodox gods and superstitions.

Among these unorthodox gods, the minor deities and evil spirits are Aiyanar, Mariamman, Ulakattal, Pidari, Karuppan, Madurai Viran, Pechi, Munnadiyan, Katteri and Kattavarayan. Of these, Madurai Viran is perhaps the most generally worshipped deity and after him Pechi, Karuppan, Kattavarayan and Katteri. The forms, the habitat and the activities of these spirits are variously described, but their propensities are generally said to be more evil than good. They, therefore, have to be constantly propitiated. Aiyanar is supposed to dwell in a sacred grove no twig of which can be removed on any pretence ; and in front of his shrine are usually found collections of horses, elephants and other animals made of pottery and placed there by the devout to assist him in his nightly peregrinations of the village. Mariamman, the goddess of small-pox and cholera, is universally worshipped throughout the southern districts. Karuppan is the special deity of the Kallars and is said to be fond of chains, clubs, swords and animal sacrifices. He is also sometimes offered animals made of pottery for riding about the village. Madurai Viran is the deification of a historical person ; it is said that he was a servant of one of the Palayagar of Madurai and afterwards of Tirumala Nayaka, the ruler of Madurai. He is said to have run away with the Palayagar's daughter, married her and performed several daring deeds near Madurai. His image is always accompanied by that of his wife Bommanayaki and by the head of her father, whom he is said to have killed, under one of his feet. All these spirits have generally temples or shrines, but sometimes their abode is merely an unenclosed clearing under a tree, the place of the image being often taken by a spear fixed upright in the ground. Mere bricks, however, and sometimes even the tree itself, are adored. Mariamman, for instance, is fond of the margosa and this tree is often worshipped as being her abode or as indicating her presence. Several minor deities used to be formerly propitiated by animal sacrifices.

As a typical example of spirit worship, the practice followed by the Kallars and the Valaiyars of Orathanadu may be mentioned. Valaiyar houses have generally an odiyan tree in the backyard, on which the spirits are supposed to live ;

and among the Kallars every street has a tree for their accommodation. The spirits are propitiated at least once a year, the more virulent under the tree itself and the rest in the houses usually on a Friday or a Monday. The Kallars attach much importance to the Friday in the month of Adi, the cattle (Mattu) Pongal day in the month of Thai, and the Karthigai day in the month of Karthigai. A man with his mouth covered with cloth, to indicate silence and purity, cooks some rice in the backyard and pours it out in front of the tree mixed with milk and jaggery; coconuts (and formerly toddy) are also placed there. These are offered to the spirits which are represented in the forms of bricks or mud images placed at the foot of the tree and camphor is lighted. In former days, a sheep used to be then brought and slaughtered. When all this is done, the spirits are supposed to spring one after another from the tree on to one of the bystanders. This man then becomes filled with the spirits, works himself into a kind of frenzy, becomes the mouth-piece of the spirits and pronounces their satisfaction or the reverse at the offerings and gives cryptic answers to the questions asked about good or evil fortune. When the spirits have said their say, the man recovers his senses.

Some of these deities are honoured by festivals to which many people resort. The Viran festival at Tagattur in Tiruthuraipundi taluk attracts thousands of people. The Mariamman festival at Mariamman Kovil near Tanjore attracts even a larger crowd. Even the Brahmins sometimes propitiate these deities.[1]

Tree worship and cobra worship are also not uncommon among the Hindus. The trees that are usually worshipped are the arasu (aswatha), the margosa, the odiyan, the portia, the banyan and the palmyra. The arasu and the margosa are planted together, or married as the saying goes, on a platform of earth and worshipped by the Brahmins and other higher castes. Women desirous of getting children take a bath and walk round these trees one hundred and eight times every morning for forty-five days consecutively. The lower classes worship the odiyan and other trees. Arasu is specially worshipped by the Telugu Melakkarars and the Kallars, and the margosa by the Palliars. All Brahmin women, as is well known, worship the tulasi plant; this is grown on a small platform of earth in the courtyard of their houses. As to the cobras, the higher castes, including the Brahmins, consider it a sin to kill them, believing, as they do, that the man who does so will have no children. The Brahmins and the higher Vellalars think that children can be obtained by worshipping the cobras. The Vellalars and the Kallars perform the worship on a Friday; the former generally after the Pongal festival. The Vellalars make an old woman proclaim in a backyard

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 68-69.

that a sacrifice will be made to the cobra on the following day and that the cobra might deign to accept it. At the time of the sacrifice, which takes place generally in the evening, cooked jaggery and rice, burning ghee in the middle of some rice flour and an egg are offered to the cobra and left in the backyard for its acceptance. The Palliars worship the cobra by pouring milk on an ant-hill and by sacrificing a fowl. The Valaiyars, the Paraiyars and the Pallars sacrifice a fowl in their own backyards.

Cattle, earth and water too are commonly worshipped. Cattle worship is done not only at the time of the Pongal but also at the time when ploughing begins and when the treading is done. At Thiruvaiyar at the time of treading, a marakkal of paddy is tied in the waist-cloth of a herdboy and the boy is dragged round the cattle and made to do honour to them. The earth is worshipped when the seed is sown, and by the Valaiyars when the first ploughing of the year is begun. The water of the first flood is worshipped and so are the rivers on the eighteenth day of the month of Adi when they rise. This festival of Padinettamperukku is observed throughout the district. The Cauvery is held sacred all along its course and thousands of people bathe in its waters and offer worship in the numerous temples and shrines on its banks. A bath at Kaveripattinam where the Cauvery joins the sea is held to be particularly holy; a bath in the sea at Point Calimere is likewise held to be holy [1].

The belief in vows is widespread among many classes. Vows are made to gods as well as spirits and they take various forms. Parents desiring offspring make a vow that, if a child is born, they will perform the ceremony of the first shaving of its head in the temple of the deity which granted the boon. Sometimes they vow that, if a child is born, they will hang a miniature cradle in the temple. Similarly, when a child is ill, a vow is made that if it recovers, its jewels will be presented to the deity. More often when a person falls ill, he vows to brand his body or to go round the temple a certain number of times, sometimes by rolling himself over and over on the ground, after he recovers. Vows are also taken in anticipation of boons; until the boon is granted, the devotee undertakes to forgo salt in food or to offer models of affected limbs in silver or other metal. Vows are often made to offer images of horses and other animals to the village deities [2].

Much more numerous than vows are the superstitious beliefs of the people. We can mention here only a few of them. Thus an owl or vulture brings ill-luck to the house on which it perches. A tortoise in a house or in a field which is

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 70–71.

[2] *Idem*, pages 71–72.

being ploughed is inauspicious. The cawing of a crow on a house indicates the arrival of a guest. The dream of a temple car in motion or burglary foretells the death of some near relation. To hear some one sneezing or to be questioned as to the business on which one is going is bad omen. So is the catching sight of either one Brahmin or two Non-Brahmins or a widow or oil or a snake or a huntsman or a sanyasi. It is a good omen to hear a bell ringing, a cannon sounding, an ass braying, a garuda crying, or, on first leaving the house, to catch sight of a married woman, a corpse, flowers or water. Evil spirits can be warded off by talismen and houses and persons haunted or possessed by evil spirits can be freed or exorcised by professional sorcerers. A goat or a dog climbing a house fortells disaster which can be warded off sometimes only by killing the animal. A clay building fly's nest in the house predicts the birth of a child ; if a mud nest, of a male child, if a jungle lac nest, of a girl. The going out of lights during a meal or on auspicious occasions foreshadows evil. The hissing noise of the oven indicates the arrival of a guest. The entrance of a viper inside the house or in the field is an ill omen. The appearance of jackals, hares or hyænas in the village is uncanny. The fighting of crows in front of the house foretells news of death. The itching of the sole of the foot indicates a journey. When the first two children die, the death of a third can be averted by disfiguring the child with ashes, by piercing its left nostril and putting a gold wire ring through it and by giving it a humble name like Kuppuswamy (lord of refuse) or Kuppammal, or Pakkiri (fakir)[1].

Till now we have dealt with the Hindus who form the majority of the population. We have now to deal with the Muslims, the Christians and the Jains who form numerically the other important communities. Taking the Muslims first, they are most numerous in the inland taluks like Kumbakonam and Papanasam, but they also abound in the trading coastal taluks of Nagapattinam and Pattukkottai. They are mostly Labbais and Marakkayars.

The word Labbai seems to be of recent origin ; formerly the Labbais were called Sonagars, meaning natives of Sonagam (Arabia). They are, in fact, partly the descendants of Arab traders or refugees who married with the women of this coast and partly the descendants of the Hindus who were forcibly converted to Islam by Tippu Sultan and the previous Muslim invaders. In religion they are orthodox Muslims mostly of the Shafi sect, but their mother-tongue is Tamil and they follow in their domestic ceremonies, in their customs of inheritance, and in their methods of dress, manners which are rather Hindu than Muslim. Their marriage ceremony closely resembles that of the lower caste Hindus, the only difference being that

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 66–67.

quantity of Kuruvai seeds used in this system of cultivation exceeds the Samba, sometimes by as much as five to one; and the species of Samba used is what is called the Ottadai paddy, an eight months crop.[1] The seeds of both the varieties are mixed together and sown and transplanted together in the same field. When the early variety (Kuruvai) is ripe, both the crops are cut, but the later variety (Samba) sprouts again and is harvested when it is ripe. This practice is resorted to in areas where the water-supply is more than sufficient for one crop but is inadequate for two crops. But this system is inferior to the double crop system.[2]

The Kuruvai season commences in June and lasts till October, the Udu from June to February, the Thaladai from October to February and the Samba from August to January.[1] For all the four crops as a rule seedlings are raised in nurseries and subsequently transplanted in the fields. The nurseries are usually prepared about the time when water-supply becomes available. Thus the Kuruvai and the Udu nurseries are prepared in June, the Thaladi in October and the Samba in August. Where, however, lift irrigation is possible, they are prepared even earlier. Two methods of preparing nurseries are in vogue. For the Kuruvai, the Udu and the Thaladi crops the land is commonly dry-ploughed and the seeds are sown in Puzhuthi (powdered soil). This method is called Puzhuthinattu. For the Samba and Thaladi crops wet nurseries are prepared and seeds are sown. This method is called Nirnattu or Sethunattu. In both cases the nurseries, unlike in the other districts, are usually located in a portion of the fields themselves in which the seedlings are to be transplanted. In both cases the land is first levelled and manured with green leaf, etc., the levelling being specially attended to in the case of Nirnattu to prevent the formation of puddles and the consequent rotting of seedlings. In both the cases the seeds are soaked, in Puzhuthinattu for twelve hours, in Nirnattu for twenty-four hours; in the latter case, the seeds, after removal from the water, are kept until they sprout before sowing. In the case of Kuruvai the seedlings become fit for transplantation in twenty to twenty-five days, while in the case of Samba and Thaladi, the seedlings become fit for transplantation when they are 35 to 40 days old.[3]

When these preparations are going on, the fields are prepared for transplantation and cultivation. The ploughing is taken up as soon as the freshes arrive. The land, where

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[1] A popular account of work done at Agricultural Research Station, Aduthurai, pages 2–3.

[2] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barker, 1940, page 225.

[3] A popular account of work done in Agricultural Research Station, Aduthurai, page 3.

Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I 1915; pages 96–97.

necessary, is levelled with spades and pickaxes and watered to a depth of two to three inches. This is followed by four to six ploughings at regulated intervals; and between the first and the last ploughing, or after all the ploughings are over, green leaf or other manure is added. The field is then smoothed by drawing a plank over it. Transplantation of seedlings is now made and the field is kept in a half dry condition for several days until the seedlings shed their sickly appearance and become green. Water is thereafter regularly supplied to the fields and retained to a depth of two inches at first and then increased with the growth of the crop to about four inches till the formation of the ears. The field is then allowed to dry, though sometimes, a small quantity of water is retained in it. The crop is generally weeded once after fifteen days from the time of transplantation and again after two months.[1]

In former days, when considerable areas were available for raising paddy under rain-fed conditions, the seed was sown broadcast.[2] But nowadays since most of the lands command irrigation facilities, this method is not adopted to any appreciable extent. In former days again, when irrigation facilities were restricted, the cultivation of the second crop was done on a small scale and in a superficial manner. Watering, levelling and preliminary manuring were omitted and the land was ploughed quickly about three times in a week or ten days and then some manure was applied to it.[3] But nowadays, with the extended irrigation facilities made available, the second crop cultivation is done on a large scale and receives as much attention as the first crop cultivation. The extent to which the second crop cultivation has increased is evident from the fact that, while in 1902–03 the registered double crop lands in the district were only 10,700 acres[3], today such lands extend to 188,000 acres.[4]

Besides paddy, the chief crops grown in the district on wet lands are plantains, betel-vine and vegetables. The method of cultivation of plantains which occupy normally about 12,700 acres,[5] may be mentioned here. The plantain being a surface feeder requires a rich soil with plenty of moisture and facilities for drainage. It is cultivated in wet lands in rotation with paddy, the crop standing in the same field for sometimes three or four years. Trenches five to six feet deep and twelve to fifteen feet apart are dug with proper gradient and water is allowed to stand in them for a day and is then completely drained off. Into these trenches are then planted suckers. As the crop comes up, the pruning of the suckers,

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 97–98.
[2] *Idem*, page 95.
[3] *Idem*, page 99.
[4] Season and Crop Report, 1950–1951, page 52.
[5] *Idem*, page 54.

which is an important operation, is done regularly, all except one or two being removed. The crop which is an exhaustive crop is manured with bulky organic manure such as farm yard manure. The best yields are obtained in the second year ; during the third or fourth year, the crop is mostly used for leaves. [1]

The chief crops grown on the unirrigated lands are varagu (26,000 acres), ragi (12,200 acres), green gram (75,600 acres), blackgram (30,300 acres), groundnuts (44,700 acres), gingelly (15,110 acres) and coconuts (36,900 acres)[2] Varagu and ragi are grown as independent crops on dry lands, while greengram and blackgram are raised in the paddy fields as crops succeeding the paddy crop. Blackgram and greengram seeds are broadcast in the paddy fields just before the paddy crop is cut. During the course of harvesting of the paddy crop they get trampled underground and with the available moisture in the soil they sprout and come to maturity. Groundnut crop is largely grown as a dry crop in the Pattukkottai and Tanjore taluks, though it is also sometimes grown as a wet crop in these and some other taluks. As a dry crop it is sown in June-July if the rains are favourable and is harvested by the beginning of January. As a wet crop it is sown in January-February, is maintained by well-irrigation and is harvested in June-July. For both the dry and the wet crops the local Mauritius variety of groundnut is used.[3] Gingelly normally succeeds groundnut in dry lands. It is sown in January-February and harvested in April. Coconuts are grown mostly in the deltaic and coastal tracts of the district. The seedlings are raised in nurseries and transplanted when they are three to four months old. The planting is done in June or January and the plants are protected by fences until they grow out of reach of grazing animals. Generally 150 seedlings are planted in an acre in the delta tracts, while only 55 are planted in the coastal tracts. They are watered during the first three summers. It is usual to grow pulses or plantains as inter-crops in coconut plantations until the seedlings are four or five years old. The most common manure used for the coconuts is ash, but in some places silt, green manure or fish manure are also used. The trees begin to yield from seven to ten years, but they yield well only from twelve to fifteen years. The bunches are usually cut by climbing up the trees, though there is also a practice of harvesting the bunches with a knife attached to a long pole when the trees are not very tall.[4]

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[1] Madras Agricultural Journal, Vol. XXII, No. 2, page 41 seq.

[2] Season and Crop Report, 1950–1951, pages 53–57.

[3] Notes on work done at the Agricultural Research Station, Pattukkottai, pages 8–9.

[4] The Coconut by J. S. Patel, 1938, pages 12–13, 19, 24–25 and 30.

Turning to the activities of the Agricultural Department, this Department, started on a modest scale in this State in the beginning of this century on the recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1901, has gone on rapidly expanding its activities with the result that it now consists of a Director of Agriculture, three Deputy Directors of Agriculture at the headquarters, four Deputy Directors of Agriculture in charge of four divisions, the various District Agricultural Officers in charge of districts and several Special Officers engaged in research or other special work. Tanjore is the headquarters of a Deputy Director of Agriculture. He is in charge of the Tanjore, South Arcot and Tiruchirappalli Districts, and as such, guides and supervises the work of the Agricultural department in all the three districts. Tanjore had one District Agricultural Officer in charge of the whole district till 1949. Since then the district has been bifurcated for agricultural purposes into the Tanjore and Pattukkottai districts, the former consisting of the Tanjore, Papanasam, Kumbakonam, Mayuram, Sirkali, and Nannilam taluks and the latter consisting of the Nagapattinam, Tiruthuraipundi, Mannargudi, Pattukkottai and Arantangi taluks. Each of these districts is under a District Agricultural Officer. These officers have under them fifteen agricultural demonstrators whose work is chiefly that of demonstrating to the cultivators the advantages of improved methods of paddy and other crops cultivation, of distributing to them better varieties of paddy seeds, green manure seeds, oil cakes, fertilizers and agricultural implements and iron and steel required for agricultural purposes and of offering advice to them generally on all matters connected with agriculture. The department also periodically publishes books and pamphlets embodying the results of the latest research besides issuing a Villagers' Guide and Calendar every year in the language of the district.

The Tanjore District has also two Special Agricultural Stations, one at Aduthurai and the other at Pattukkottai.[1] The Agricultural Research Station at Aduthurai was started in 1922 to succeed an earlier agricultural farm set up at Manganallur. Situated in the Cauvery delta near Maruthuvakudi village and about two furlongs from the Aduthurai railway station, it covers about 50 acres of land the soil of which is fairly representative of the delta tract. It does research mostly on two main subjects, the selection of pure lines of paddy and the hybridization of paddy. The first of these consists of selecting isolated plants, of studying their characteristics and of retaining the best for multiplication and supply to the cultivators. The second of these involves the crossing of one variety with

[1] An Agricultural Training School was started at Orathanad in 1948 for imparting practical training to sons of landholders, but this has been closed and converted into a livestock farm.

another, each having some desirable features, with a view to evolving a new variety possessing all these features.[1] The kinds of paddy that were formerly grown in the district were a variety called Kadappu, two varieties called Muttai Kuruvai and Karuppu Kuruvai, five varieties of Kar called Kar proper, Pungar, Sittirai Kar, Karutta Kar and Sandi Kar, four varieties of Samba called Sembalai, Seguppu Sirumaniyam and Vellai Sirumaniyam and a variety called Ottadai. There were also three other varieties known as Nilam Samba, Kuttalai and Kumbalai which were less commonly used.[2] All these have now been largely replaced by about a dozen new and improved strains of paddy evolved by the Farm by extensive research over a number of years and made popular in the district. It is said that as much as eighty per cent of the entire paddy lands are now sown with one or other of these new strains.[3] Latterly the Department has been trying to reduce the number of strains in order to preserve their purity. It has now evolved two strains by hybridization, one ADT 20 (Kuruvai Sirumani) and the other ADT 25 (Samba Sirumani) which are highly productive and suitable for growing in Kuruvai and Thaladi seasons respectively. The latter has an additional advantage of being resistant to blast diseases.[4]

The farm is also engaged in experimenting and demonstrating the scientific methods of cultivation such as reduction of seed rate in nurseries, economic planting of seedlings, the use of better kinds of manure and implements and the elimination of pests and diseases. The cultivators were in the habit of using much more seed than was really necessary in raising seedlings. The farm has now proved that with about one-third of the usual seed rate it is possible to raise stronger and sturdier seedlings and that, if this method is adopted, the resultant saving in seed grain alone would come to 519 lakhs of pounds of seed grain worth more than thirty lakhs of rupees. The cultivators were also in the habit of planting as many as ten seedlings in each hole and spacing the holes about a foot apart from one another. The farm has shown that the best results are obtained by planting one to two seedlings in each hole and by spacing the holes about three to six inches apart from one another. The ryots were likewise in the habit of allowing the seedlings of other strains to grow along with the main strain in the field. The farm has shown that the purity of the strains can be preserved by roguing or weeding all seedlings other than those of the main variety. Propaganda and actual demonstrations in fields are making these methods popular. As to manure, the cultivators were using insufficient manure and attributing the poorer

[1] A popular account of work done at Agricultural Research Station, Aduthurai, pages 1–2.
[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore district, Vol. I, 1915, page 94.
[3] The Villagers' Guide and Calendar for 1946, page 66.
[4] *The Hindu*, dated 9th March 1954.

yield of the crop to the lesser amount of silt brought down by the Cauvery after the construction of the Cauvery-Mettur Dam and other irrigation works. The farm has demonstrated that the only way to make the soil fertile is to use plenty of green leaf manure and that the best way to procure this manure is to grow special green manure crops like *glyricidia* and *sesbania speciosa* all round the fields adequate for their requirements. It has also demonstrated the advantages of supplementing the green leaf manure by inorganic manures like ammonium sulphate and superphosphate. From the great demand for green manure seeds and inorganic manure, it would appear that the cultivators are realizing the importance of properly manuring the fields on the lines advocated by the farm. As to implements the farm has demonstrated the usefulness of several improved types of agricultural implements. The first of these is the iron plough which is effective in uprooting bulb-grass (a serious weed in wet land) which the common wooden plough is incapable of uprooting. The second is a levelling board worked by hand which is very useful in levelling small plots, especially seed beds. The third is what is called the Burmese Settun intended for effectually ploughing in green leaf manure. The fourth is a puddler which breaks down all lumps in the soil and produces a soft puddle fit for transplantation. As to pests and diseases, the farm is making experiments to find out the best methods of eliminating damage to crops by the paddy mealy bug, the shoot borer, certain fungal diseases, crabs and rats.[1]

Nor is this all. The farm is engaged in making experiments with other crops like plantains, sugarcane, cotton and soya bean and in demonstrating the usefulness of apiculture, poultry farming and pisciculture. Of these activities, pisciculture alone may be mentioned here, because of its novelty as well as importance. The farm has demonstrated the great usefulness of having fish ponds in the fields in order to supplement the diet of the people. It has shown that even a small landholder owning an acre of wet land can, by setting up about five cents of it for digging a fish pond, obtain daily enough fish for an average family. It has shown that the soil taken from the pond can be spread evenly all round the pond to a depth of two or three feet to grow upon it with advantage, vegetables, coconuts, etc., and that the water in the pond can be made use of for commencing cultivation earlier.[2] Recently the Government have gone a step further and launched a scheme called Paddy-*cum*-Fish Culture Scheme for raising fish in paddy fields, a scheme which has been tried successfully in countries like Italy, Japan and China. It is

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[1] A popular account of work done at Agricultural Research Station, Aduthurai, pages 13–20.

[2] *Idem*, pages 35–43.

estimated that 1,500 fingerlings stocked in an acre of land would yield 400 pounds of fish and at the same time eliminate paddy pests and improve the manure value of the lands.[1]

The other research centre, the Agricultural Research Station at Pattukkottai, which occupies about 40 acres, was opened in 1934 with the object of experimenting and demonstrating the possibilities of growing commercial and garden crops in the area made irrigable by the Cauvery-Mettur Project, an area in which the cultivators found it difficult, costly and unprofitable to raise paddy crops. But with the outbreak of the Second World War, the consequent rise in prices and the starting of the Grow More Food Campaign, this farm as well as the cultivators have begun to pay increasing attention to the cultivation of paddy in this area. The farm is now trying to find out the most profitable ways of raising paddy by improved cultural and manurial methods and by the best varieties of paddy suitable to the tract both for single and double crop areas. It is also trying to find out what varieties of groundnut crop can be grown under what conditions with what advantage ; and what commercial crops like sugarcane, plantains, turmeric, etc., can be grown in rotation with paddy. It has introduced two varieties of groundnuts called AH. 25 and AH. 32 and these are becoming popular.[2]

The agricultural prosperity of the district has been considerably increased by the Grow More Food Campaign started during the Second World War. This campaign was launched in 1942 in order to overcome the scarcity of foodgrains produced by the cessation of imports of rice from Burma, Siam and Indo China. The problem was how to meet this shortage, so as not only to enable this State to become self-sufficient but also to enable it to supply the needs of the neighbouring States, by some short-term planning. And the planning that was devised took two directions, first that of bringing under food crop cultivation all areas lying uncultivated or cultivated with commercial crops and of increasing double crop cultivation and cultivation during off season and secondly that of encouraging intensive cultivation by the use of improved seeds and better manuring. For achieving these objects the Government introduced a series of measures. Free or concessional cultivation of unoccupied Government lands, such as porambokes, village and town sites, lands on the sea-front, lands in panchayats and reserved forests, tank beds and railway lands, was permitted. Temporary assignments of lands reserved for public purposes were made. Compounds of Government offices and quarters and institutions and backyards of houses were allowed to be cultivated. Reductions in water-rate were made and penalties for technical infringement

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[1] *The Hindu*, dated 26th March 1954.

[2] Notes on work done in the Agricultural Research Station, Pattukkottai.

of irrigation rules were waived. Loans were advanced on a liberal scale for bringing new lands under cultivation, for purchasing seeds, manures and implements and for deepening existing wells and digging new wells. The assessment and water-rate on land irrigated by such wells was remitted for three years. Seeds of improved strains of paddy, millets, pulses, groundnut and green manure crops were produced regardless of expense and sold to the ryots at fair rates. Oil-cakes were procured from the presses under legal enactments and chemical fertilizers were obtained from the Government of India and both were distributed at fair prices to the ryots. They were even distributed free to the poor and deserving ryots. The preparation of compost from town refuse, waste vegetable matter, etc., was subsidised and encouraged. The movement of manures was controlled to prevent export outside the State. Agricultural implements and steel and iron required for agricultural purposes were distributed at cost price. Pump sets run by oil engines, petrol or electricity were supplied in large numbers for irrigating fields with sub-soil water. Tractors were hired out for clearing, levelling and ploughing lands and making them fit for cultivation. Restrictions on commercial crops cultivation were imposed. Numerous plots were cultivated departmentally to demonstrate the efficacy of improved methods of cultivation. Every encouragement was given to intensive cultivation by the distribution of prizes to those who produced the best results. Every opportunity was taken at fairs and festivals to hold agricultural exhibitions. Every effort was made to encourage the growing of vegetables and fruits and the production of eggs and milk through co-operative societies. The slaughtering of sheep and goats was controlled and the export of these as well as cattle and cattle-food was banned. Schemes for the increased production of fish were undertaken. Power was taken under the Defence of India Rules for acquiring uncultivated lands. Power was also taken under the Madras Estates Land (Temporary Amendment) Act of 1944 for permitting tenants in zamindaris to cultivate waste lands without their acquiring occupancy rights wherever zamindars were not permitting such lands to be cultivated for fear of conferring such rights on the ryots. Power was likewise taken by the Madras Irrigation Works (Repairs, Improvements and Construction) Act of 1943 to repair or improve at Government cost any irrigation work lying neglected in private ownership and to recover the cost from the persons concerned. And everywhere land reclamation co-operative societies were subsidised and encouraged.[1]

Tanjore being the most promising district for food-crops, its normal output being 186,000 tons of rice surplus to its requirements,[2] was given not only all these benefits but also

[1] See the seven issues of the Grow More Food pamphlets from 1942–1947.
[2] Food and Agriculture in Madras State by B. Natarajan, 1953, page 15.

some special benefits. A special allotment was made here for granting loans to ryots to purchase seeds and manure for bringing waste lands under cultivation. The ban on the assignment of land was temporarily removed and land not in compact blocks was assigned or sold by the Government with the exception of 5 per cent reserved for eligible communities. A concessional water-rate was granted and the water-rate on second crops in single-crop wet lands in the Cauvery-Mettur Project area was reduced to half the single-crop assessment. In the Tanjore, Pattukkottai, Mannargudi and Papanasam taluks, the assessment on dry and manavari lands comprised in holdings was waived for three years provided that they were converted into wet lands and cultivated with paddy. Udu cultivation was exempted from second-crop assessment. Field bothies were constructed at Government cost and the amount subsequently recovered from the ryots. Water from the Mettur Reservoir was supplied earlier than usual to encourage the conversion of single-crop into double-crop lands. The conversion of single-crop into double-crop lands was freely permitted in the old delta and permitted up to 84,000 acres in the new delta. And, above all, for bringing large areas under the Cauvery-Mettur Project within reach of water, special irrigational facilities were provided at the cost of the Government, such as excavation of field bothies, acquisition of land for them, construction of culverts and syphons and draining of abandoned tanks and a subsidy of ten rupees for every acre of land reclaimed was granted.[1]

The cessation of the war did not by any means put an end to the Grow More Food Campaign. The war had shown how precarious the conditions in India could become if she were to rely on other countries for the import of foodgrains. The moment the National Government took up office, therefore, they formulated a five-year plan to be enforced from 1947–48 to 1951–52, the object of which was to produce an additional annual four million tons of foodgrains in India by the close of the period. The Government of India generously came forward to bear a portion of the cost of the scheme in all the States and fixed a target of production of six and a half additional lakhs of tons of foodgrains for Madras. The Government of Madras thereupon propounded a five-year plan for this State. They found that of the total arable area of 364 lakhs of acres, nearly 334 lakhs of acres were already under crops of several kinds and that the real problem was not so much that of increasing the cultivable area as that of increasing the food and fodder crops in the areas already under cultivation. They accordingly fixed certain targets for the production of additional foodgrains for each year in the five-year period and sanctioned several schemes for

[1] See the Grow More Food pamphlets from 1942–1947.

achieving an all-round improvement. Under wells and irrigation schemes they sanctioned the digging of over 60,000 wells, the construction of about 5,000 private tanks and of about 240 minor irrigation works. Under the works schemes, they sanctioned contour-bunding in certain districts, the supply of tractors and bulldozers for land clearance and reclamation and of pumping installations for lift irrigation. Under supply schemes they subsidized compost-making from town refuse and waste vegetable matter by municipalities and panchayats for providing cheap manures; they requisitioned the groundnut-cake from oil presses and sold it to the ryots at subsidized prices; they obtained ammonium sulphate from the Government of India and distributed it; they adopted a scheme for the increased distribution of phosphatic manures such as superphosphate and bonemeal; they introduced a comprehensive scheme for the multiplication and distribution of improved seeds of paddy, millets, pulses, groundnut and green manure to the ryots at subsidised prices; and they continued the scheme for the distribution of iron and steel required for agricultural purposes. Under miscellaneous schemes they provided for the distribution at cost price of chemicals and sprayers to control pests and diseases of food-crops and continued the free distribution of manures and seeds to the poor ryots. Under protective food production schemes, they took special steps to increase the production of vegetables, particularly in urban areas, and for the popularisation of poultry farming, bee-keeping and the production of fish, milk and eggs. And finally, under service schemes, they sanctioned the creation of an adequate supervisory staff provided for the training of more agricultural graduates and fieldmen and aimed at the appointment of an agricultural demonstrator for each firka.[1]

In March 1949 the Government of India announced their decision to stop all imports of foodgrains from foreign countries from the end of 1951 and asked the State Governments to still further intensify their food-production schemes in order to achieve self-sufficiency. This Government then appointed a Cabinet Sub-Committee for Food Production and a Member of the Board of Revenue as Commissioner of Food Production for co-ordinating the activities of the different departments engaged in food production.[2] They also introduced a two-year plan to intensify the several schemes sanctioned under the Five-Year Plan. The two-year plan hoped to achieve the target of an additional production of 4·71 lakhs of tons of rice and millets by the end of 1949–1950

[1] *See* the printed Five-Year Plan for Food Production in Madras in G.O. Nos. 2533–2536, Development, dated 9th June 1947.

[2] G.O. No. 2723, Development, dated 20th May 1949.
G.O. No. 3694, Development, dated 11th July 1949.

and 5·87 lakhs of tons by the end of 1950–1951.[1] This two-year plan was shortly afterwards converted into a three-year plan which fixed the targets at 2·09 lakhs of tons in 1949–1950, 3·63 lakhs of tons in 1950–1951 and 5·38 lakhs of tons in 1951–1952.[2]

All these schemes showered their benefits on Tanjore as on other districts and, in spite of the bad seasons that more or less harassed the State from 1944–1945 to 1950–1951, produced substantial results. In Tanjore the Grow More Food Campaign took mainly the following directions. It led to an intensive propaganda by an increased staff. It improved the strains of crops. It diverted many areas to food-crops. It started paddy cultivation in alkaline lands by the alkaline-resistant variety called S.R. 26-B. It contributed to the distribution of large amounts of green manure seeds, oil-cakes, and other chemical manures. It encouraged the planting of green leaf yielding shrubs and plants like *glyricidia* and *sesbania* all round the fields in order to produce sufficient green manure. It introduced the cultivation of crops like sweet potatoes and tapioca and increased the area under vegetables and fruits. It showed the possibility of growing with advantage cotton in wet lands (both under irrigated and unirrigated conditions) after the harvest of paddy. It helped all cultivators not a little by the supply of iron, steel and agricultural implements. It facilitated the reclamation of new areas by the use of tractors, bulldozers and graders. It controlled, to some extent, the pests and diseases by the use of chemicals. It resulted in the granting of loans to cultivators and in the offering of facilities to them for hiring pump sets to augment the water-supply of irrigated crops. It led to the formation of agricultural associations, to the crop-yielding competitions and to the establishment of model farms in all taluks in lands belonging to the ryots with a view to demonstrating effectively to all ryots the advantages of improved methods of cultivation.[3] On the whole, as a result of the Grow More Food Campaign, the increase in the area under food-crops in the district rose from 1,400,219 acres in 1940–41 to 1,538,174 acres in 1950–51 and in paddy alone from 1,229,172 to 1,332,478 acres.[4] This must be considered a good achievement considering that, from 1943–44 to 1950–51, the district suffered not a little from bad seasons. To the credit of the Grow More Food Campaign, it must also be said, that quite apart from producing an increasing quantity of food-crops

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[1] G.O. Nos. 868–869, Food and Agriculture, dated 2nd September 1949.
G.O. No. 1182, Food and Agriculture, dated 18th October 1949.
G.O. No. 1192, Food and Agriculture, dated 19th October 1949.

[2] 'Madras', 1950, page 23.

[3] Annual Administration Reports of the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Tanjore, for the years 1947–1948 to 1950–1951.

[4] Statistical Atlas of the Madras Province revised up to 1940–41, page 744.
Season and Crop Report, 1950–51, pages 52–55.

it popularized more speedily, more extensively and more effectually than any other scheme till then adopted, all the improved methods of agriculture. It was, indeed, a grand campaign, grandly conceived and grandly executed.

As to animal husbandry which is allied with agriculture, Tanjore cannot boast of any good breeds of cattle like the Kangayams, the Hallicars, the Alambadis and the Ongoles. Its cattle which number about a million are generally small and weedy; the cows are poor milkers and the bullocks make poor working animals. In its southern parts are found a type of cattle called Tanjore polled cattle; they are distinguished by the absence of horns and the possession of clipped ears. The poor quality of the cattle is attributed to the want of pasture in which the district is woefully deficient, and the absence of fodder crops. They are fed almost entirely on paddy straw which is considered to be very deficient in protein and phosphorus necessary for the proper growth of animals.[1] The only way to make up this deficiency is to increase the growth of green grass and green fodder crops like Pillepesara and Agathi, the former in parts of the wet fields themselves and the latter on the field bunds.

The indigenous cattle being poor, the ryots generally go in for imported cattle from other districts like Salem and Coimbatore.[2] In order, however, to encourage the breeding of better cattle in the district itself, several measures have been taken. Pedigree bulls are distributed under three schemes. Under the first scheme called the premium scheme, Government grants are given to owners of approved stud bulls subject to certain conditions laid down for ensuring their efficiency. Under the second scheme, the District Board is given a grant for purchasing stud bulls and distributing them to the ryots, panchayat boards and co-operative societies; the animals become the property of the latter after three years provided they are maintained in proper condition and used as stud bulls. Under the third scheme, the Animal Husbandry Department purchases and distributes young breeding bulls to the ryots and pays them a subsidy of fifty rupees per bull per year for a period of two years or until they commence serving. In addition to this, stud bulls are kept at Veterinary institutions for the use of the ryots[3]. Very recently a cattle breeding farm has been opened at the Orathanad Agricultural Training School.

The Animal Husbandry Department looks after the welfare of all cattle in the district. It maintains veterinary

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 10. Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, page 191.

[2] *Idem*, page 10.
Statistical Atlas of the Madras Province revised up to 1940–1941, pages 734–735.

[3] Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 203–205.

hospitals at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam, Mannargudi and Tiruvarur and dispensaries at Papansam, Tirupanandal, Arantangi, Pattukkottai, Mayuram, Sirkali, Nannilam, and Tiruthuraipundi. These hospitals and dispensaries render medical aid to sick animals. It maintains also six touring veterinary assistant surgeons whose duty is to check outbreaks of contagious diseases like rinderpest, anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease, blackquarter, etc., to castrate animals, to treat minor ailments of cattle, to organize cattle shows and to advise ryots on all livestock matters. [1]

We now come to irrigation which is the glory of Tanjore and which has through ages harnessed to the best purposes all the natural advantages offered by the Cauvery and her numerous branches. No district in the Madras State has an irrigation system comparable to the Cauvery Irrigation System. This system dates back to the dim mists of antiquity and with all the improvements that it has received till now irrigates at present well over a million acres of land of the district. Described in a nut shell it controls floods, regulates water-supply for cultivation and provides proper drainage facilities.

A bird's eye view of the course of the Cauvery will show us how she helps Tanjore by the rains of both the monsoons and where she has been tapped and rendered most efficient for irrigation. She rises near Mercara in Coorg and passing through the Western Ghats, which are subjected to the heavy rainfall of the south-west monsoon from June to September, enters the Mysore State. Here she is joined by her tributaries, the Hemavati and the Lakshmanathirtha, and is spanned by the Krishnaraja Sagara Dam (near Mysore town) which impounds water for irrigation and ensures a steady supply necessary for generating electricity a little lower down at Sivasamudram. Before reaching Sivasamudram she is joined by another tributary, the Kabbini, as well as a number of lesser streams which contribute their quota during the north-east monsoon rains. She then takes a sharp turn from east to south at the Hogainakal falls. Three minor tributaries, the Palar on the west and the Chinnar and the Toppiar on the east, enter the Cauvery on her course above Mettur, the famous reservoir. From Mettur she takes a southerly direction and joined by the river Bhavani runs towards the east and is again joined by two more tributaries, the Noyyal and the Amaravathi, before she reaches the Tiruchirappalli district. She now becomes wide with a sandy bed and at about ten miles from Tiruchirappalli throws off a northern branch, the Coleroon, and then goes directly eastwards into the Tanjore district. Some ten miles below Tiruchirappalli she and the Coleroon again get connected by a channel called

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[1] Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, page 221. The Villagers' Guide and Calendar for 1946, page 59.

the Ullur channel to form the Srirangam island. From this point the Coleroon runs north-east and discharges herself into the sea a little south of Porto Novo, while the Cauvery branches off into the Kodamuruttiar, the Arasalar, the Vennar, the Vettar and numerous other smaller streams forming the vast Cauvery delta. The Cauvery now becomes an insignificant stream and discharges herself into the sea some eight miles north of Tranquebar. The Cauvery is on the whole 500 miles long and drains no less than 31,000 square miles and her delta covers 2,000 square miles of fertile lands.

Of the various irrigation works constructed on her course and on the course of her tributaries, the Grand Anicut, in its original form, is the oldest, belonging, as it does, to the Sangam Age of the early Chola Kings. It is situated at the junction of the Cauvery and the Coleroon below Srirangam. It was evidently built to prevent the flood waters of the Cauvery from running off to waste through the Ullur channel into the Coleroon which runs in a lower bed. Originally it consisted of a core of roughly dressed granite set in mud, covered with an outer facing of roughly dressed granite blocks set in lime mortar. It was, 1,080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in breadth and 15 to 18 feet in depth, stretching across the outlet in a serpentine form. It was raised in 1806, provided with sand-scouring sluices in 1830 and made the basis of a road-bridge in 1839. By the construction of the bridge piers and the dam stones, the effective length of the dam was reduced to 735 feet. In 1886 the dam stones were removed and automatic falling shutters 2 feet 10 inches high were fitted on the crest; four were fitted in each bay of the bridge for 27½ bays, the bridge consisting of 30 spans of 32 feet each, and the remaining 2½ bays were occupied by the scouring sluices. In 1899 the falling shutters were removed and replaced by 30 lifting shutters of 32 feet span and 5 feet high. In the 1909 floods three arches were washed away in the scouring sluice portion, but these were restored omitting the scouring sluices.[1]

Though the Grand Anicut stopped the Cauvery water from running into the Coleroon, it resulted in the silting up of the bed of the Cauvery and in the scouring of the bed of the Coleroon. As early as 1804 it became clear that a serious danger to the delta lay in the silting up of the Cauvery bed at her first or western point of bifurcation from the Coleroon and in the consequent waste of water down the Coleroon. For about twenty-five years an incessant struggle was maintained against the increasing tendency of the river-bed to silt up at the head. The Cauvery bed was successively excavated and the head of the Coleroon was blocked up with

[1] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, pages 195–197.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District. Vol. I, 1915, page 140.

expensive embankments but to no purpose. The water-supply to the delta continued to diminish and the extent of land under irrigation continued to decrease. Finally in 1836, Arthur Cotton, an able engineer, built at the head of the Coleroon (about ten miles west of Tiruchirappalli at the first point of bifurcation from the Cauvery), a solid masonry wall called the Upper Anicut which was designed to prevent too much water from flowing down that river and to adequately fill the Cauvery. The construction of this great work overcame for the time being the difficulty of water-supply to the Tanjore delta, but during the flood season the very over-abundance of water became a source of no small danger, causing, as it did, serious erosions in the bed and banks of the Cauvery. This danger was minimised in 1845 by building a grade wall called the Cauvery Dam across the Cauvery. In 1899 the Upper Anicut was cut down and rebuilt. On its completion it consisted of an open dam with 55 vents 40 feet wide and lifted with lifting gates, a bridge being constructed above the vents connecting the island with the north or left bank. By this arrangement an improved passage was provided for the discharge of flood water down the Coleroon, while by the regulation of the gates, a one foot greater depth of water could be diverted down the Cauvery.[1]

At the same time when the Upper Anicut was built, Cotton built also (in 1836) what is called the Lower Anicut across the Coleroon some sixty-seven miles below the Upper Anicut. It was built to prevent the wet lands in the South Arcot district dependant on the Coleroon from being injured by the lowering of the river which necessarily followed the erection of the Upper Anicut. It was also designed to irrigate the north-eastern corner of the Tanjore district which was inadequately supplied by the Cauvery. It was extended in 1856–1857 and remodelled between 1899 and 1902 on the same lines as the Upper Anicut. It now consists of 60 bays of $33\frac{1}{3}$ feet span and over it runs a road bridge. In connection with the improvement of the supply to the Vadavar and the Veeranam tank in the South Arcot district sanctioned in 1906, the crest of the Lower Anicut was lowered by two feet and the existing six feet shutters were replaced by eight feet shutters. The floor of the Anicut was raised and strengthened in 1914 [2]. In 1928 ten new vents of the same width as the existing ones were added at the south branch of the anicut for facilitating flood discharge. The channels at the Lower Anicut now irrigate about 24,000 acres in Tanjore district.

Immediately below the Grand Anicut, and almost at right angles to it, the imposing regulators of the Cauvery and the

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[1] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, page 195. Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 104–105.

[2] *Idem*, pages 106–107.

Vennar head divide the main stream. They were built in about 1886 for distributing the available flow between the Cauvery and the Vennar and for excluding from both during floods, the flood water which, prior to their construction, flowed down uncontrolled and sometimes damaged the crops. Since 1886 some modifications in shutter arrangements have been made in these regulators. The construction of the breast walls in these regulators afford facilities for entirely closing the regulators and excluding flood from the old delta. Nor is this all. New scouring sluices provided with radial shutters have been built between the Grand Anicut and the Cauvery-Vennar Regulators. These are capable of discharging a maximum of 16,980 cusecs and prevent undue silting of the bed and keep open a low level water-course as an approach channel to the sluices. In order to protect the Grand Anicut foundations from scour, a bed regulator has been constructed for a length of 1,100 feet from the nose between the anicut and the scouring sluices on the up stream side with the object of deflecting the low water-course away from the anicut towards the Vennar Regulator and thence to the scouring sluices. And, as a result of the record flood of 1924, which was estimated to amount to 475,000 cusecs at the Upper Anicut, a road dam or bye-wash has been constructed in the low padugai about a mile upstream of the Grand Anicut on the left bank of the Cauvery. In the event of an extraordinarily high flood, this bye-wash can surplus about 98,000 cusecs into the Coleroon, thus safeguarding the works at the Grand Anicut to a considerable extent. Below the Cauvery-Vennar Regulators numerous smaller regulators have been constructed designed to effect the proper distribution of water among the various branches of the river and the irrigation channels.[1]

The abovementioned works collectively described as the Cauvery Delta System irrigate about 870,000 acres. If to this is added the area cultivated under the second crop, the total area irrigated amounts to just over a million acres. The value of these crops is nearly 10 crores of rupees. Ever since the system was taken over from the Maharashtra Rajas, more than 87 lakhs of rupees have been spent on it. The return upon this amount exceeds 12 per cent per annum after giving credit for about 38 lakhs of rupees towards old revenue.

This excellent irrigation system has been still further improved by the Mettur Dam and Reservoir constructed near Mettur in the Salem district and the connected canal works constructed in the Tanjore district. The question of improving the conditions of irrigation in the Tanjore delta by the storage of the Cauvery water in a reservoir was first

[1] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, page 197.

considered as early as 1834 by Arthur Cotton, that indefatigable Engineer to whom Tanjore owes so much. During the succeeding years several Engineers put forward several schemes, but it was only in 1910 that, after making a detailed investigation, Colonel W. M. Ellis worked out a practicable scheme. This scheme led to a dispute between the Governments of Mysore and Madras on the question of the sharing of the Cauvery waters and it was only in 1924 that, owing to the efforts of Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, then a Member of the Executive Council, an agreement was arrived at according to which the Mysore and the Madras Governments were permitted to construct their reservoirs across the Cauvery, the one at Kannambadi called the Krishnarajasagara Dam and Reservoir and the other at Mettur called the Mettur Dam and Reservoir or the Stanley Dam and Reservoir (named after Sir George Frederick Stanley during whose tenure of office as Governor the works were both initiated and completed), subject to certain conditions. The most important of these conditions so far as Madras was concerned were that the new area to be irrigated under the Mettur Scheme should be limited to 301,000 acres and that the capacity of the reservoir should be limited to 93,500 million cubic feet. No sooner was the dispute settled than the unprecedented flood of 1924 came and necessitated some changes in the site, the height and the material of construction of the dam. The site was shifted a mile upstream near a natural saddle, the height was increased and cement was substituted in the place of lime for the construction of the dam in order to accelerate progress. The whole scheme, when finally completed in 1934, consisted of the dam and the reservoir at Mettur and the Grand Anicut Canal and its several branches, and the extension of the old Vadavar Canal in the Cauvery delta.[1]

The dam is one of the biggest in India and it costs 4·8 crores of rupees. Its total length is 5,300 feet and its greatest height is 214 feet above the deepest foundations and 176 feet above the river-bed. Its maximum width at foundations is 171 feet and the cubical contents of its masonry exceed 54½ million cubic feet. The effective capacity of the reservoir is 93,500 million cubic feet and it covers an area of sixty square miles. In order to deal with temperature changes and to prevent contraction cracks forming in this mile long dam, it is constructed in sections, generally of 126½ feet in length, each closely abutting the next but not bonded into it. The contraction is thus deliberately encouraged to take place at these joints and the percolation of water through them is arrested by the provision of expanding copper joints running

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[1] G.O. No. 2661, Public Works and Labour (Irrigation), dated 4th December 1934.

History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, pages 3–22, 479–482.

vertically from below ground level to the top of the dam. Reinforced concrete staunching bars, diamond shaped, are also provided at each joint for the same purpose. Leakage through the face of the dam, if any, is collected in a number of drainage shafts which connect on to an inspection and drainage gallery extending for a length of some 4,000 feet in the body of the dam at about ground level. The sluices in the dam are divided into three groups; the lowest of these are the four $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter hydro-electric pipes each regulated by a needle valve of robust construction. These pipes pierce the dam at a level 15 feet above the original river-bed but are nevertheless designed to operate under a head of over 150 feet of water. With their sills 30 feet above these pipes is a set of five low level sluices fitted with electrically operated gates each 7×14 feet. Fifty feet above these is a set of high level sluices eight in number, each measuring $10\frac{1}{2} \times 16$ feet. The surplus sluices with their sills 50 feet above the high level sluices are 16 in number, the size of the gates being unusually large, each measuring 60 feet in width and 20 feet in height. As in the case of the other sluices, these gates are electrically operated with simple push button control. All these sluices, hydro-electric, low level, high level and surplus sluices, can be worked by hand as well. In the event of extraordinary floods, a bye-wash near the right flank of the dam automatically comes into operation. The hydro-electric pipes enable supplies to be drawn for the development of hydro-electric power below the dam and a hydro-electric power station has been built below the dam and is in operation since 1937. Water from the reservoir is passed into the river below the dam and picked up at the Grand Anicut about 120 miles downstream by the Grand Anicut Canal. The dam owes not a little to the skill and efforts of Sir Clement Mullings, the then Engineer-in-charge of Irrigation.[1]

The Grand Anicut Canal which is 70 miles long takes off at the site of the Grand Anicut from the right bank of the Cauvery immediately above the right flank of the Vennar Regulator. This canal which is a contour canal and which cost about two crores of rupees, passes through the Tanjore town, and thereafter throws out the large Kalianodai and Rajamadam branch canals and runs south as far as the Narasinga Cauvery, with numerous large and small channels branching off from it. With a few exceptions the channels are all on the left or eastern side of the canal and since the country is of a gently undulating nature these channels are carried generally on the ridges so that they command the lands

[1] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, pages 479, 482–483.

G.O. No. 2661, Public Works and Labour (Irrigation), dated 4th December 1934.

Administration Report of the Irrigation Department for 1939–1940, pages 14–15.

lying between the tops of the ridges and the bottoms of the valleys coming between. These valleys naturally form the drainage courses and are occupied by tanks which, before the construction of the new canal system, intercepted and stored the natural run off from the higher lands during the rainy season. The main canal thus crosses a number of fairly large and important 'varis' or drainage courses. Its head sluice consists of six vents of 30 feet span. Its sills are 1·67 feet higher than those of the Cauvery and the Vennar Regulators. Its vents are 5½ feet in height, breast walls being so constructed as to exclude flood water when it rises above the top of the gates when closed. The vents are fitted with radial steel shutters hand-operated. The bed width of the canal at the head is 180 feet and the full supply depth is 7 feet; but where the branches take off, the capacity of the canal is gradually reduced so that at the tail end where the canal carries 300 cusecs only, it is only 30 feet wide and 5·25 feet deep. The bed fall, however, is gradually increased from the head to the tail of the canal to keep the velocities as high as possible.[1]

As to the Vadavar extension system, the supply required for it is picked up by the Vadavar from the Vennar river. The Vadavar is an old canal about 20 miles long from its off-take down to its infall into the 'Vaduvur Eri.' The surplus course from this Eri known as the 'Kannanar' finally empties into the sea through the 'Pamaniar', another old tributary. Owing to the relatively unfavourable formation of the Vadavar canal with reference to its ayacut, the waters of that stream could not be utilized efficiently and about half of its surplus used to run to waste. This canal was therefore improved. It has been regraded, provided with regulators at important points and widened and straightened wherever necessary to convey the extra surplus for the extension of its ayacut. An additional head sluice has been built with 8 vents, each 5 feet square, and the "Vadavar Extension Canal" about 7 miles in length starts from the 19th mile of the old Vadavar at a point just above its outfall into the 'Vaduvur Eri.[2]

The Cauvery-Mettur System was, on the whole, designed to give an assured and steady supply to the irrigation of over a million acres in the old Cauvery delta and to bring under irrigation a new area of 301,000 acres in the Tanjore, Pattukkottai and Mannargudi taluks. Out of this extent the area for which water for the second crop is made available is 74,000 acres under the Grand Anicut Canal and 31,000 acres under the

[1] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, pages 197–199, 203–204.

Administration Report of the Irrigation Department, 1949–1950, page 10.

[2] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, page 213.

Vadavar canal[1]. Unfortunately, owing to various reasons like the slump in the pre-war period, the fall in the price of paddy and the difficulty and high cost of getting access to the channels, the ryots were unable to take full advantage of the scheme. But the outbreak of the Second World War, the rise in prices and the launching of the intensive Grow More Food Campaign in which the Government, as has been seen, gave several concessions such as the construction of field bothies at Government cost and the concessional water-rate on first and second crop cultivation, induced the ryots to bring more and more land under cultivation so that today almost all the new area has been brought under cultivation. Nor is this all. The main object of the system is that of safeguarding irrigation in both the new and the old delta against injury from unseasonal monsoons or from occasional shortage caused by the abstraction of flood waters by Mysore at the commencement of the season; and this object, it has, without doubt, effectually secured. By the storage of flood waters in the reservoir, it has become possible to supply water for irrigation purposes in the intervening period of six weeks between the two monsoons and in the years in which the north-east monsoon is poor. Even in years of drought the system ensures an even distribution of available supplies and prevents avoidable wastage. It enables the ryots to regulate their agricultural operations with precision with reference to the availability of water and the exact time of its distribution. Moreover it controls the south-west monsoon floods which formerly used to come down the Cauvery unrestrained and cause extensive damage to the crops in the district.[2] It may be stated here that elaborate rules have been framed for the timely and proper distribution of water from the reservoir. For this purpose telephonic intimation is daily sent by the Superintending Engineer, Tanjore, to the Superintendent, Mettur Dam, about the requirements of the Cauvery, the Vennar and the Grand Anicut Canal.[3]

After the construction of the Cauvery-Mettur System no irrigation works of any considerable importance were carried out in Tanjore until the advent of the Second World War and the inauguration of the Grow More Food Campaign. It has already been seen how Tanjore was one of the districts specially chosen for this campaign. In addition to the various concessions granted to the ryots, the Government now took up in earnest a number of schemes for extending the area under irrigation and for improving the drainage of the old delta, a drainage which had been for a long time a standing

[1] G.O. No. 2661, Public Works and Labour (Irrigation), dated 4th December 1934, notes, pages 1–2.

[2] History of the Cauvery-Mettur Project by C. G. Barber, 1940, pages 222–223, 238–240.

[3] G.O. No. 1529, Public Works and Labour (Irrigation), dated 13th July 1933.

grievance with the ryots. The most important of the irrigation works undertaken was doubtless the extension of the Grand Anicut Canal beyond the Narasinga Cauvery river at a cost of 19·3 lakhs of rupees for irrigating 15,000 acres. It was found that about 30,000 acres of land under the Cauvery-Mettur Project area was actually beyond the reach of irrigation; and a good portion of this deficiency, it was thought, could be made up by extending the Grand Anicut Canal beyond the Narasinga Cauvery. Part of this scheme for extending irrigation to 2,500 acres was taken up by the Adviser Government, but the full scheme was sanctioned and executed by the National Government between 1946 and 1950. Besides this, several schemes of lesser importance but none the less of considerable value have been undertaken by the National Government for improving the existing irrigation facilities, such as the construction of a bed regulator across the Cauvery at Jedderpalayam, the extension of irrigation in Kambayanatham, etc. villages in the Papanasam taluk, the re-alignment of the Uyyakondan channel for improving irrigation in the Tanjore taluk, and the extension of irrigation under the Mulliar river in the Tiruthuraipundi taluk. The Government have also undertaken silt clearance of channels on a large scale at their own cost finding that the ryots were habitually neglecting this work, although it is a kudimaramath work.[1]

But it is on the improvement of the drainage that the Government have been bestowing a great deal of attention. Unlike the new irrigation projects which provide for the necessary drainage, the Cauvery Delta system, which is an ancient system, provided for no such drainage. The rivers and channels were here made to serve both irrigation and drainage purposes[2]. And the result was, after the Cauvery had been filled for some time every year, the whole of the tail end of the delta used to become water-logged and liable to submersion as the very gradual slope of the ground towards the sea made it difficult for all the water to run off. This naturally affected cultivation. The evil was accentuated by the unusually heavy rainfall received by the coastal taluks[3]. From time to time attempts were made to tackle this problem. In 1921 the Cauvery Committee suggested the raising of the banks where necessary to prevent overflow, the deepening and widening of the drains, the conversion of the dams across drains into regulators and the provision of masonry infalls. These suggestions were carried out on many drains with some

[1] G.O. No. 2100, Public Works, dated 6th August 1945.
G.O. No. 952, Public Works, dated 3rd April 1946.
See the Administration Reports of the Irrigation Department from 1946 to 1951.

[2] G.O. No. 1256, Public Works, dated 29th April 1946.

[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 108–109.

effect, but the whole problem still remained to be solved. In 1943 the Chief Engineer for Irrigation suggested that the problem should be attacked scientifically by deepening, widening and banking the drains and, at the same time, by the separation, as far as possible, of the drainage system from the irrigation system, by the excavation of new drains for the lower portions of the delta and by connecting these drains directly to the sea. He submitted a number of key schemes for achieving these objects. These were all fully discussed by the Adviser Government and as soon as the National Government took up office, they sanctioned 12 of these key schemes costing 29·63 lakhs of rupees, 18·31 lakhs for the Cauvery division and 11·32 lakhs for the Vennar division;[1] and by 1950 all these schemes were completed[2]. In addition to these 12 schemes, some other schemes for the improvement of drainage in the old delta have also been sanctioned and executed [3]. Nor is this all. In the Cauvery-Mettur Project area the Government found that the drainage had become defective in several places owing to the non-absorption of drainage water by lands which had ceased to be dry. They therefore sanctioned in 1947–48 drainage schemes costing 6·02 lakhs of rupees [4] and these have also been completed.

All these major irrigation works naturally require a large staff to look after them. There are at present one Superintending Engineer, three Executive Engineers and 14 Assistant Engineers besides a large number of supervisors and other subordinates, whose main work is to attend to irrigation works but who also attend to the other general public works.

In addition to the major irrigation works which are under the charge of the Public Works Department, there are also a number of minor irrigation works consisting of tanks irrigating less than 200 acres each situated mostly in the upland taluks, which are under the charge of the Revenue Department. There were originally 579 such tanks [5], but after the completion of the Cauvery-Mettur Project many of them were abandoned. At the same time due to the abolition of estates several tanks belonging to the estates have been taken over by the Government and are being restored by them. At present there are only 400 tanks under the Revenue Department and they irrigate about 31,424 acres[6].

[1] G.O. No. 1256, Public Works, dated 29th April 1946.
[2] See the Administration Reports of the Irrigation Department.
[3] *Idem.*
[4] G.O. No. 550, Public Works, dated 1st March 1947.
[5] G.O. No. 1005, Public (General), dated 3rd June 1937, page 1392.
[6] Figures supplied by the Chief Engineer (Irrigation).

CHAPTER VII.

FORESTS.

Tanjore which is rich in agriculture and irrigation is poor in forests. No district in this State has a smaller forest area than Tanjore; it comprises only 24,968 acres[1]. As is to be expected, a flat, alluvial country irrigated by numerous rivers and channels is bound to be primarily dedicated to agriculture, though in such tracts very good tree growth is possible. Such of the forests as exist now are however confined to poorer soils where the trees have to depend only on the local rainfall and consequently they are poor in height. In the river margins the tree growth is quite good and the plantations of Casuarina raised on them thrive very well. What few forests there were in olden days had, save in a few cases, hardly any chances of survival against the ever-increasing claims of cultivation. There is, for instance, evidence to show that before 1914 there were about fifteen forests of Casuarina and other trees in the Tanjore, Sirkali and Tiruthuraipundi taluks. Of these, three reserved forests alone in the Tiruthuraipundi taluk now remain, the rest having been disafforested and sold to the ryots and converted mostly into fields[2]. These three forests are situated in the south-east corner of the district near Point Calimere and are called the Kodiakadu, the Talanayar and the Muthupet forests.

The Kodiakadu reserved forest covers 4,556 acres. Prior to 1935 it comprised 3,955 acres. In 1935, 25·65 acres were disreserved for the extension of the railway line from Agastiyampalli to Point Calimere and in 1938, 626·82 acres lying on its eastern and northern boundary were reserved and added to it[3]. It is a dry ever-green type of the Carnatic forests situated in an undulating sandy plain very little above the sea-level and is intersected by many broad but shallow swamp creeks which, in the rainy season, get connected to a large lagoon back-water on the north and the west. The creeks are generally dry except when the monsoon winds in June to August force up the sea water into them through the back-water. The wooded area of this forest is only about half its gross area, the remaining half being covered by grassy banks and shallow saline swamps. The forest, however, effectually protects the villages of Kodiakarai, Kodiakadu and the Vedaranyam Salt

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[1] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraph 8.

[2] *Idem*, paragraph 57.

Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45), page 11.

[3] Working Plan for the Forests of the Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1962–64), paragraph 8.

Factory from severe sand drifts which, but for it, would have overwhelmed them. It is the home of numerous black buck, spotted deer, wild boar, wild ponies and semi-wild cattle. The black buck and the spotted deer are quite unique and a national possession, affording, as they do, an agreeable setting to the ceremonial religious features of Vedaranyam. The chief trees in the forest are the Kasan (*Memecylons*), the Palai (*Mimuscops hexandra*), the Sulundu (*Ixora parviflora*), the Vedathalam (*Dichrostachys cineria*), and the Veerai (*Hemicyclia sepiaria*). It has also other trees, the Tamarind, the Soapnut, the Konnai (*Cassia fistula*), the Neem (*Azedarachta indica*), the Pungan (*Pongamia glabra*), the Nagai (*Eugenia jambolana*), the Odian (*Odiana wodiar*), the Karuvai (*Acacia arabica*), the Wild Date, the Screw Pine and the Casuarina (recently planted). These trees do not yield good timber and are mostly used for fuel, for house building purposes by the poor and for making agricultural implements. Their leaves are used for manuring the fields and the Kasan leaves, which are specially in demand, are used for manuring tobacco fields, as they are said to impart a fine flavour to tobacco. The fruits of the Palai were formerly collected by the poor and sold in the towns, but nowadays they are collected and sold by the contractor to whom the minor produce is leased.[1]

The Talanayar reserved forest occupies 3,055 acres, but its wooded area is only about 350 acres, the rest being open space with Umri shrubs (*Suaeda monica*), scattered about it. It is a mangrove forest, landlocked, liable to submersion in the rains and broken up by numerous creeks and a large central lagoon of the Addappar. The rivers Addappar and Nallar run through this forest. Its soil is alluvial, saline and slushy throughout. The two kinds of mangroves in which it abounds are the Kandan or the Alayathi (*Avicennia officinalis*) and the Thillai (*Excoecaria agallocha*). Alayathi is largely used for fuel and the sea-shells found here are used for making lime. In former days the Umri plant was used for preparing a mordant for fixing dyes, but at present there seems to be little demand for it [2].

The Muthupet reserved forest occupies 16,810 acres, but of this area only about 1,000 acres are occupied by trees, the rest being covered by streams, lagoons and swampy and grassy blanks. It is like the Talanayar forest a mangrove forest

[1] B.P. (Forest) No. 227, dated 10th June 1918, pages 3–8.
Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45) pages 5–7.
Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraphs 8, 15–19.

[2] B.P. (Forest) No. 227, dated 10th June 1918, pages 38–39.
Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45), pages 5–7.
Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraphs 8, 21 to 23 and 44.

with slushy soil which is specially treacherous along the seashore. It is traversed by several large lagoons and streams of which the chief are the Koriar, the Kilanthagiar and the Velvanar. In its wooded area there is a patch of about 70 acres covered with some of the best Alayathi in this State, the trees being 30 to 40 feet in height and 2 to 3 feet in girth. Besides the Alayathi it contains other trees like the Thillai[1].

Fishing is carried on in all these forests. The right of fishing in the Kodiakadu reserved forest is sold annually by public auction by the Forest Department and the revenue is credited to that department. The contractor issues his own permits for the fishermen to fish in the reserve. In the Talanayar reserved forest too the right of fishing is sold by public auction, but the revenue is credited to the Fisheries Department. In the Muthupet reserved forest, the right of fishing is sold by negotiation to the headmen of Muthupet for a fixed sum per annum. The fishermen obtain permits from the headmen for fishing within the reserve[2].

The injuries to which these forests are liable are to be traced to man and animals. Man has always been an enemy to forests and he has never fully realized the importance of their proper maintenance and judicious exploitation. In the Kodiakadu forest, in particular, he resorts to the thefts of fuel and minor timber and in all the three forests he endeavours to evade forest laws and allows his cattle to graze freely much to the detriment of the seedlings and plants in the freshly felled coupes. The spotted deer, the black buck, the semi-wild ponies and cattle too in the Kodiakadu forest browse the tender coppice shoots and seedlings, while the wild boars dig up even the very roots[3].

Turning to forest administration, the Talanayar forest was notified as a reserved forest in 1888[4], the Kodiakadu in 1892 and the Muthupet in 1937. In the Talanayar forest, prior to reservation, free removal of forest produce was permitted; after reservation, it was allowed to be removed on permits. In the Kodiakadu forest, prior to reservation, the removal of forest produce for bona fide domestic and agricultural requirements was allowed on permits; and this was continued after reservation with some minor alterations in permit fee. This position continued till about 1908. The Muthupet

[1] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45), pages 5–7.
Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraphs 8, 21 to 25, 39–40.

[2] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraph 49.

[3] *Idem*, paragraphs 36, 41, 63.
B.P. (Forest) No. 227, dated 10th June 1918, pages 27–29.

[4] Subsequently revised under G.O. Ms. No. 2276, Revenue, dated 28th October 1931; *Fort St. George Gaeztte*, October 28, 1931, Part I, page 1424.

forest was, till 1911–1912, under the management of the Chatram department of the District Board which had some forest land lying contiguous to it ; and here the removal of the forest produce was allowed on the permit system. Regular fuel coupes to be worked under coppice with standard system were laid out for the first time in 1907–1908 in the Kodiakadu reserve and in 1908–09 in the Talanayar reserve. For a time there was opposition to fellings in the Kodiakadu reserve from the mirasidars of the adjoining villages who were afraid that their valuable tobacco cultivation lands would thereby be exposed to sand drifts. But these fears were soon found to be groundless and the fellings were continued [1].

In 1916 the Kodiakadu and the Talanayar reserved forests which were till then under the District Forest Officer, South Arcot and Tanjore, were classified as Class II reserves and placed under the control of the Collector of Tanjore ; the Tahsildar of Tiruthuraipundi and the Revenue Divisional Officer of Mannargudi were declared as forest officers and invested with the powers of a Range Officer and a District Forest Officer respectively [2]. Thereafter, the duties of the Forest Department were confined to drawing up working plans and offering technical advice. In 1927 a proposal was made to retransfer these forests to the Forest Department, but it was finally decided to leave them under the Collector in view of economy and the adequacy of management by the Revenue Department [3]. The Revenue Department continued to manage the forests ; the Revenue Divisional Officer continued to be the ex-officio District Forest Officer, but the Tahsildar was replaced by a Ranger in 1946 [4]. Finally the control of these forests was transferred to the Forest Department in March 1950 when the Tiruchirappalli Forest Division was revived. In 1927 the Kodiakadu forest was declared as a Class I forest and the Talanayar forest was treated as a Class III forest.[5] As to the Muthupet forest, it was transferred from the Chatram department to the Revenue Department in 1911 when the coupe felling system was introduced in it. In 1923 it was again transferred to the Chatram department under a lease according to which that department was to manage the forest in return for a moiety of the net revenue. In 1933, however, this lease was terminated, as the Chatram department claimed a disproportionately large sum towards

[1] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraph 58.

[2] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45), page 12.

[3] G.O. No. 791, Development, dated 30th April 1928.

[4] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraph 57.

[5] *Idem*, paragraph 9.

Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45), page 4.

working expenses. Thereafter, the forest was managed by the Revenue Department[1] up till March 1950 when it was finally transferred to the Forest Department.

For the proper preservation and utilization of these forests in a scientific manner, working plans have been drawn up by the Forest Department. The first working plan was drawn up in 1918, the second was drawn up in 1935 and the third was drawn up in 1949. The first plan prescribed a system of coppice with standards, but the rotation was fixed at 30 years for the Kodiakadu and 12 years for the Talanayar and the Muthupet forests. The coupes were to be demarcated, surveyed and standards marked prior to sale by contract. The felled coupes were to be protected by the contractor by efficient thorn fencing. The blank patches in the Kodiakadu forest were to be sown with seeds of the various trees for three years in succession in the most favourable seasons under proper supervision. Grazing was to be restricted by increasing the license fee and damage by black buck, spotted deer and wild boar was to be minimized by liberalizing the licensing rules for shooting[2]. The second plan prescribed, for the Talanayar and the Muthupet forests, clear felling with reservations of 20 to 25 trees per acre for seed bearers. The rotation was to be for 20 years, felling being done by contractors under suitable restrictions. The coppice with standard system was to be abandoned, as it had been found that the Alayathi does not coppice. Attempts were to be made to grow the Alayathi in blank spaces by direct sowing in proper season and channels were to be dug to induce artificial inundation where the Alayathi was dying off due to the rising of the ground level above water. In the case of the Kodiakadu forest, the second plan prescribed the simple coppice system with reservation of healthy trees bearing minor forest produce such as the Tamarind, the Soapnut, the Konnai, etc. The rotation of felling was to be 30 years. The Palmyrah and the Pinnai seeds were to be sown along the boundaries of the coupes to form permanent boundaries. Attempts were to be made to grow cane, which had a local demand for basket making, in the shallow depressions where fresh water accumulates. A small portion of the belt along the northern and western sides was to be excluded from felling altogether in order to protect the Vedaranyam Salt Factory and the adjacent villages against sand drifts. And finally, grazing was to be allowed in all the three forests under suitable restrictions, the felled coupes being closed for grazing during the first five years so as to protect the seedlings[3].

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[1] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraph 58.

[2] B.P. (Forest) No. 227, dated 10th June 1918.

[3] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1935–36 to 1944–45), pages 19–33.

This second working plan soon underwent some changes. It was found that the raising of the Alayathi in blank spaces by direct sowing was a failure and that the digging of channels to induce artificial inundation was not only costly but of doubtful value. It was also found that the fellings in the Kodiakadu forest were stubbornly opposed by the ryots who apprehended that their adjacent tobacco fields would thereby be rendered a sandy waste and who were at the same time anxious to get large quantities of dry leaves of the Kasan for their tobacco fields. The department too felt it necessary to retain the Palai trees seeing that the problem of regeneration of this tree was difficult, since it neither coppices nor perpetuates its species easily from seed. For all these reasons, the Government ordered in 1938 that the fellings should be stopped and that the sale of dry leaves should be allowed on payment of a trifling fee. Nor was this all. The grazing question became a problem in the Kodiakadu forest. The numerous tame as well as semi-wild cattle which their owners freely allowed to roam in the forest, in most cases without permits, made it impossible to realize the full grazing fee. The Government therefore decided to collect a lump sum grazing fee from the villages in and around the forest, the sum to be based on the cattle census. But the villagers put up a stiff opposition to this saying that all their cattle did not generally resort to the forest and that the system could be abused by some villagers taking in foreign cattle for grazing. They suggested that the unlicensed cattle might be caught as in Tirunelveli. But, as this was a failure in Tirunelveli itself, the Forest Department considered that it would not be a success here. All this eventually led to the withdrawal of the lump sum grazing fee.[1]

The third working plan of 1949 took all this into consideration and prescribed for the next fifteen years hardly any changes in the existing system. The mangrove forests of Talanayar and Muthupet were to be continued to be worked for firewood under the system of clear felling with reservation of adequate number of trees as seed bearers. The Kodiakadu forest was not to be felled at all as ordered by the Government. Grazing was to be continued under permits in all the three forests, goats alone being excluded. Minor forest produce such as fishing, shells, grasses, avaram, tamarind, soapnut, konnai and palai fruits were to be exploited through the agency of contractors. Dry leaves were to be sold for manure from the Kodiakadu forest for tobacco cultivation. Experiments, however, were to be made to grow suitable species like the Karuvelam (*Acacia arabica*) and the Puvarasu (*Thespesia populnea*) and finally, felled coupes were to be closed

[1] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraphs 60–64.
G.O. No. 2383, Development, dated 24th September 1938.

for grazing for a period of three instead of five years. It is this system that is being now followed.[1]

During the period of the Second World War, when acute fuel scarcity was prevailing everywhere, attempts were made to plant Casuarina in the Kodiakadu forest. About 160 acres were planted with Casuarina between 1942 and 1946. There are a number of private Casuarina plantations all over the district.[2]

The Public Works Department Padugai areas on the right bank of Coleroon in Alakkudi and Mudalaimadugu, Gopalasamudram and Sodiakkudi villages in Sirkali taluk, in Maharajapuram in Kumbakonam taluk and the revenue area in Udayamarthandapuram in Tiruthuraipundi taluk were taken over by the Forest Department between 1945 and 1950 and 272 acres of Casuarina plantations were successfully raised in them.

As the local forests do not yield good timber, teak is imported from Burma, Ceylon, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore[3].

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[1] Working Plan for the Forests of Tanjore District (1949–50 to 1963–64), paragraphs 75–126.

[2] *Idem*, paragraphs 26 to 35.

[3] *Idem*, paragraph 39.

Notes on some of the Indian Markets for Madras Timbers, by J. A. Master, pages 33, 47–49.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE.

The Tanjore district can boast of no large scale industries like the textile or the sugar industry. The only industry in the district which can be called a large scale industry is the rice milling industry. This is, however, nothing strange seeing that Tanjore is purely an agricultural district in which nearly 70 per cent of the population are agriculturists [1]. But, all the same, it has been for ages the land of cottage industries or small scale industries, some of which provide employment for a large number of people, while others, though employing a small number, are nevertheless noted for their artistic merit and excellence.

Of these industries, hand-spinning which was an ancient industry and which must in olden days have doubtless subsisted in many places and contributed not a little to supplement the incomes of the agriculturists in the off season, is today confined only to a few places and is absorbing only an infinitesimal portion of the population. Ever since the importation of European cheap mill-made yarn and cloth began in the last century and the production of equally cheap Indian mill-made yarn and cloth began in the present century, this industry has steadily declined. It is kept alive only by the enthusiasm created by the Khaddar Movement since 1922 and by the persistent efforts made by the National Government to encourage it in recent years. It is now confined to a few villages in the Mannargudi and the Pattukkottai taluks [2] and in the Saliamangalam firka. [3] Its chief centres till recently were Palayur and Adhirampattinam, but now under the Firka Development Scheme started since 1946 more than 200 charkas have been distributed among 30 villages in the Saliamangalam firka and the people have been taught to spin and weave Khaddar. In about 30 schools also in the same firka, charkas and taklis have been distributed in order to encourage hand spinning. [4] Cotton is imported from places like Tirupur in the Coimbatore district and cleaned, carded and spun by the spinners. The yarn produced is usually coarse being only from 6 to 20 counts, but sometimes 30 to 40 counts are also spun. The cost of the yarn, however, is much more than the mill-made yarn and the wages that the spinners get for it are generally low. [5]

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[1] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, pages 26–27.
[2] G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940.
[3] Five Years Progress in Tanjore (in Tamil), 1951, page 43.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940.

Hand-spun yarn is woven by a small number of people. Its weaving is done mostly in Adhirampattinam, Muttupet and in the villages of the Saliamangalam firka. The most common cloths woven are dhoties, towels, angavastrams and striped shirtings. On account of the poor quality of the yarn a weaver can weave only about nine yards a day and this brings him only a scanty wage.[1] If hand-spinning industry is expanded, hand-weaving of hand-spun yarn will also obviously get expanded.

But now that the art of hand-spinning of finer yarn has disappeared and the cheaper as well as finer mill-made yarn has come to stay, it is not in hand-spinning or in weaving of hand-spun yarn that the prosperity of Tanjore consists. It consists in the weaving of silk and cotton mill-made yarn which today provides employment for thousands of people. Of this handloom industry E.B. Havell, a noted Connoisseur of Indian art and a former Superintendent of the School of Arts, Madras, remarked in 1885 that it was fast declining because of the importation of cheap western mill-made cloth and because of the growing habit among the Hindus (men) to wear western clothes on all but ceremonial occasions. He said that "European manufacturers have not hitherto produced anything which can at all compare with the finer cloths of Tanjore . . Kuranad (Koranad) and other places;" and he regretted that "while the more gorgeous beauties of the textile manufactures of the north, such as those of Banaras, Surat and Gujarat have been fully recognized, it is a pity that the more sober, though none the less remarkable, artistic qualities of these (Koranad, etc.) fine clothes" had not been better appreciated. "Artistically speaking", he went on to observe, "a decline is noticeable in the cotton female cloths, most of which have lost their characteristic beauty by the use of European dyed thread.[2]" This position holds good even now. The handloom weavers have to contend with the Indian mill-made cloth; and much of the beauty of handloom fabrics has been spoilt by the use of chemical dyes.

In spite of these drawbacks, the Tanjore district even today stands foremost in South India in the varieties of the fabrics woven in silk, cotton and lace, in the designs of the patterns employed, and in the artistic skill exhibited in workmanship. The handloom industry still provides occupation for more than 16,000 people.[3] It flourishes chiefly in Kumbakonam, Tanjore, Koranad, Ammapet, Ayyampet, Tugili and Mannargudi. The weavers belong to several castes such as Sowrashtra Brahmins, Devanga Chettiars, Senguntha

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[1] Five Years Progress in Tanjore (in Tamil), 1951, page 43.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940.

[2] Report on Arts and Industries of certain districts in the Madras Presidency, 1909, No. VI, pages 4–5.

[3] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, pages 47–48.

Mudaliars, Nokkars, Padmasaliars, Padayachiars, Palliars, Naidus, Kannada Chettiars, Kallars and Muslims. But the chief among these are the Sowrashtra Brahmins who have been for generations engaged in handloom weaving and who have exhibited a genius in organizing the industry and a special skill in the art itself.[1]

The industry is largely in the hands of capitalists, namely, the merchants and master weavers. Some of these own looms themselves and work them with hired labour. Others advance silk and yarn to the weavers and take back ready-made cloths. Some others again sell silk yarn to the weavers on credit at market rates and receive the cloths themselves or allow the weavers to sell it to others on condition of payment of the price of silk with some commission, within a month.[2] Raw silk is obtained chiefly from Mysore and Kollegal and silver lace from Kumbakonam. Cotton and mercerized yarn are obtained chiefly from Madras. The weavers are, as a rule, wholetime workers who, provided they have work, weave all the year round.[3] The men sit at the looms, the boys assist them and the women wind and twist silk or assist the men in other ways. The looms used are generally ordinary ones made locally with throw-shuttle slays. Fly-shuttle slays are not used as the cloths generally woven are provided with solid borders, distinct from the colour of the body, and for making these solid border cloths two persons are necessary, one, a boy or a girl, for weaving one border and the other for weaving the body and the other border.[4]

Tirunageswaram was once well-known for the weaving of men's cloths and towels with 40s and 60s. The industry suffered a set back as in other places, but it is now slowly regaining its place and prestige with the quantitative reservation of dhoties introduced for mills. Among the places where the weaving of towels, bed-sheets, shirtings, etc., are carried on may be mentioned St. Francis Xavier's Industrial School in Tanjore. Good carpets were manufactured in the now defunct Borstal School at Tanjore.[5]

Fine lace cloths with 100 count yarn are woven by a large number of families of Harijans and Kaikolars at Tugili and Mannargudi. Local capitalists have largely monopolised this industry either by controlling the weaving establishments or by advancing raw materials, yarn, silk and lace or by prescribing patterns. They take the ready-made cloth and

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1 G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 11–34.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 15–21.
2 *Idem*, pages 19–21.
3 *Idem*, pages 17–21.
4 *Idem*, page 19.
5 G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 11–14.

pay the weavers their wages. Several lakhs worth of cloth is manufactured in a year and part of this cloth is sold locally, while the rest is exported to places like Madras and the Straits Settlements. [1]

Women's cloths of ordinary value with stripes running across the length and breadth are woven by Padmasaliars in Aduthurai, Tirucherai, Valangiman, Raja Mannargudi, Koranad and other places. They never use dyed yarn but get the yarn dyed by Padayachiar labourers. Valangiman is noted for the Sumangaliprarthana Saris, i.e., silk saris without the admixture of black thread. Aduthurai, Govindapuram, Kurichinelli, and Tirumangalkudi were once noted for black saris, but now there are only a few looms working in these places. These saris are woven with silk and black yarn coming alternately in the warp ; the woof is purely of black yarn or mixed with silk at intervals. New patterns are now being adopted. [2]

Silk weaving for which the district is famous is carried on chiefly in Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Koranad. The well-known Koranad "Kottadi" saris with pure silk both for warp and woof and with decorative lace borders and squares in the body are nowadays supplemented by cheap patterns of saris mixed with cotton in warp and woof. Silk is generally dyed in yellow, but dark red is got from Kapila and stick lac, while yarn is dyed in vegetable indigo obtained from South Arcot and Proddatur. The Koranad saris are manufactured also in Kumbakonam, Tanjore, Valangiman and Ammapet. In Koranad, Tanjore and Kumbakonam silk cloths of a superior kind with abundance of lace in the borders and edges and with striped and artistic bodies are also manufactured for the use mainly of richer classes, like Chettinad women. Besides these pure silk and costly cloths, others of a similar type but with an admixture of silk and cotton, both in the warp and the woof, are likewise woven for daily use. All these cloths are partly consumed in Tanjore but mostly exported to other districts and to places like Madras, Bombay and the Straits Settlements. [3]

The weaving of Kailis of various kinds, Kaili proper 'gulfdan', 'Susai' and 'Kuthini' as well as Kambayams also gives occupation to a large number of people. Ammayappan in the Nannilam taluk is the chief centre for the weaving of pure silk and artificial silk Kailis. Some other places where they are woven are Keevalur, Toppalapuliyur, Pulivalam, Kuruchimalai and Govindapuram. Kailis are sometimes made with beautiful stripes and delicate streaks

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[1] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, page 17.

[2] *Idem*, page 15.

[3] *Idem*, page 17. G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 19 and 21.

called 'gulfdan' by tying silk threads at intervals of one inch before dyeing. Sometimes, when warping, a dagger pattern is adopted by drawing in the middle portion so that the intermingling threads may be dagger-like. 'Susai' is another kind of Kaili, while 'Kuthini' is a speciality which has a warp of yarn and a woof of silk with a variety of designs and squares in the body. This industry is chiefly in the hands of the merchants of Ammayappan who advance yarn and silk to the weavers and take back the Kailis woven by them. Kailis worth more than two lakhs of rupees are annually exported to Bombay, Mysore and other places.[1]

In former times, dyeing was an important industry in this district. The dyes then used were all indigenous dyes and the various colours produced have been unanimously pronounced by all lovers of art as fast, sober and pleasing to the eye.[2] This industry, however, gradually began to decline on account of the importation of cheap, gaudy, fugitive, foreign dyes, the alizarine and the aniline dyes, in the second half of the last century. But even in the beginning of the present century, the indigenous dyeing industry seems to have held its ground, though struggling for existence against the rapid inroads of foreign dyes.

Silk dyeing in former days was done mostly in Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Ayyampet and Mayuram. The colours used were stick lac red (arakku), cochineal (kiriminji), orange (kapila), yellow (manjal or nimiri), and dark blue (nilam or karuppu). Green, violet and rose colours were also employed. Orange was made from kapila powder obtained from the coccus capsules of the *Mallotus philippinensis* tree (kamala tree). Red was made from stick lac (Kombarakku) or cochineal (kiriminji) and from chips of sappan (vattangi or patang). The chips of sappan were used only as a decoction for dipping the thread already immersed in kapila (orange powder). The colour so produced was called red kappu. Yellow was obtained from powdered saffron root; another shade of yellow called nimiri was obtained by mixing this with a decoction of fuller's earth. Dark blue was made from indigo and a vegetable green by dipping the thread first in indigo and then in saffron water. Violet was got by a combination of cochineal and indigo. Mordants used for making the colours fast were seeds of the tagara plant, fuller's earth, chunam mixed either with tagara seeds or fullers' earth, alum mixed with saffron water, gingelly oil and pista kay obtained from the

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[1] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 19-20.

[2] Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in the Madras Presidency by Edwin Holder, 1896, page 1.

Monograph on Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency by Edgar Thurston, 1897, pages 6, 7 and 16.

excrescences on the leaves of the myrobalan tree. The latter was used only with cochineal. Tamarind fruit was another ingredient used in the preparation of arakku red.[1]

Cotton dyeing was done in a large number of places, the chief of which were Kumbakonam, Ayyampet and Mayuram. Generally the same colouring matter that was used for silk was used for cotton also for obtaining the different colours. But unlike in the case of silk, for cotton, vegetable red was obtained from the root of the nuna plant assisted by the leaves of kasan and the bark of the vembadam tree. The mordants employed for cotton were different from those used for silk. The commonest was the ash of castor seeds mixed with sheep's or goat's dung and gingelly oil. The bark of the babul tree and a material called kasi katti were also used in the preparation of indigo dye for cotton.[2]

But now the position has completely changed. Aniline dyes have almost completely ousted indigenous vegetable dyes and dyeing with aniline dyes is also confined only to a few dyeing houses found mostly in Tanjore. For dyeing of silk in different colours, American and German dyes are used, except for yellow and dark red which are prepared from kapila powder and kiriminji or stick lac. As for cotton dyeing, most of the dyed yarn used in the district is got ready dyed with aniline dyes and only a small quantity and a few colours are dyed locally. Dyeing is done in Valangiman, Tirucherai, Kodavasal, Velipalayam, Kumbakonam, Darasuram and Pattiswaram. Black and indigo colours are specialised chiefly in Velipalayam (Nagapattinam) and the black dye of this place is said to be as famous as the red dye of Madurai.[3]

In regard to printing, fifty years ago, Kumbakonam was well-known for wax printing. English cambric cloth was obtained, soaked first in water, then in a solution of gall nuts (which turned it yellow) and lastly in alum which made it almost black. The required designs were then printed on it in oxalic acid with metal blocks of different patterns and this produced a white design on the dark background. The fabric was then dipped in red dye when parts touched by the oxalic acid remained unaffected so that a white design appeared on a red background. Thereafter other designs were printed in hot wax on the red background in the same way with other blocks. The fabric was next immersed in indigo, and while the body of it was thus turned from red into blue, the portions protected by the wax and also those previously printed with oxalic acid were unaffected and a white and red design on

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 120–121.

[2] *Idem*, page 122.

[3] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 25–28.

a blue background resulted. Finally the wax was removed by soaking the fabric in hot water.[1] Today, however, the best wax printing is done only in Velipalayam. About a hundred merchants are engaged in this industry and they employ a few hundred persons, mostly women belonging to the Mudaliar, Pattar and other communities. The industry is struggling hard against the competition of the cheaper mill-made cloth.[2]

Next to the handloom industry comes the mat industry which employs a large number of people. Mats are made of korai, screw-pine, palm leaf and coconut leaf. Korai grows wild all over the district, especially in channels and water-courses and in the ditches along the railway line. It is also cultivated on a commercial scale in Marur, Nadukkaveri, Tirunayar, Thillaisthanam and Nidamangalam. The korai mat weavers get their requirements from the nearest source, but some import korai from Wandiwash, which is said to be superior. They are mostly Harijans, Muslims and Valayars, and are found chiefly in Chakkarapalli, Pakkirithaikkal, Anaikaranchatram, Vaidianathapettai, Kaniakuruchi, Melanatham, Valangiman, Ammapet, Saliamangalam, Tiruthuraipundi, Nidamangalam, Mannargudi, Athikkadai, Kuthanur, Aliyur, Thenuparai, Tenuperuvalandur, Kariapanam and Sikkil. The korai is cut when green and split into vertical fibres and the pith inside removed. The fibres are then dried and preserved and, just before using, are soaked in water for two or three days. They are afterwards dyed in synthetic colours of yellow, red, and green and dried again before they are woven. The women weave them into mats on looms with threads of aloe or some other fibre and, in the case of costly mats, with silk thread. The mats woven are generally coarse and measure $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ feet. Superior varieties of them are made in Chakkarapalli, Pakkirithaikkal and Mudukkur. The mats are in great demand not only in the district, but also in other places outside the district.[3]

Screw-pine mats are made out of the leaves of the screw-pine which grows abundantly in all the coastal villages. Plaiting of the mats is done generally by the Muslim women. They strip the leaves of the thorns, dry them in the sun for six or seven days till they become grey and then dye them and plait them. The mats are made of various sizes and thickness, ordinarily they consist of one layer but there are also mats with two layers called quilt mats and with four layers called Java mats. There is a large demand for small mats for packing

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 123–125.

[2] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 29–31.

[3] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 59–61.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 21–23.

tobacco and jaggery. At Vedaranyam alone their annual consumption is said to be five or six lakhs. Palm leaf mats are made by the Vanniar and the Muslim women in a few villages. Tender palm leaves are split lengthwise, and sometimes dyed, and woven into two plaited mats. They are generally rough and are used for packing chillies. Coconut leaves are plaited into mats called keeths almost everywhere and on a commercial scale at Adirampattinam and Thandrikottai. They are used for covering the houses of poor people and sheds and are naturally in great demand.[1]

One of the industries which has a great potentiality is the fibre industry. The coconut, the aloe and the palmyra are found in abundance, but their fibre is not exploited to the best advantage. The coconut is grown extensively in the Kumbakonam, Mayuram, Papanasam, Nagapattinam and Tiruthuraipundi taluks and along the sea coast of the Pattukkottai and Arantangi taluks. This ensures an unlimited supply of coconut husk for making coir. Unfortunately, however, the husk is only partially removed and is very often burnt as fuel for want of firewood. But where the husk is made into coir, the method of making the coir is also very defective ; the fibre is not retted well, nor is it twisted properly. The dried husks are simply soaked in water for two nights and then beaten with a wooden mallet and dried again. Afterwards the fibre is picked out by hand and spun into coir or twisted into ropes. This work is mostly done by women. The aloe too grows in almost all parts of the district, especially in places like Adirampattinam, on the fences on the road side and on the banks of water-courses. The fibre is generally extracted and spun into yarn by the Muslim women. The palmyra grows in large numbers in the Vedaranyam area. Its fibre is extracted from the 'pathals' by the Harijan women and there is a good demand for it.[2]

Tanjore is famous for its metal industry which provides occupation for a few thousand people. Its chief centres are Kumbakonam, Nachiarkoil, Kivalur and Kariamangalam. It is, however, almost entirely in the hands of merchants who supply the materials and pay wages to the workmen. Anyone passing the streets in these places cannot fail to notice the din caused by the hammering of brass vessels. Most of the workers are Visva Brahmins, though there are other castes also engaged in the industry. The Visva Brahmins of Nachiarkoil claim descent from those who emigrated about a century ago from Travancore. The metals used are generally brass,

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[1] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, page 61.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 23–27.

[2] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 66–68.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 27–29.

bronze and tin. Of brass are made all kinds of domestic vessels like kudams, chembus, thambalams, andas and adukkus. Of bronze are made kujas, pots, bells and lamps; and of tin are made a variety of small cooking vessels. Brass is obtained in sheets from Madras about 1,000 tons per year, cut up into pieces, welded together and shaped by hammering to form the required vessels. Bronze is melted and cast to form vessels and other articles by employing two methods. By the first method moulds of clay of required shape are made, covered with a coating of wax and then again covered with a thick layer of clay. The whole is then exposed to heat which melts the wax and leaves a space between the mould and the outer layer of clay into which the molten metal is poured. The moulds are afterwards removed and the vessel polished with a file or polishing wheel. By the second method damp clay is compressed into two open wooden boxes of equal size and two impressions, one the obverse and the other the reverse, of the required articles are obtained in them. The boxes are then joined, kept in position by interlocking and the molten metal is poured into the cavity through a hole made in the box, a passage being at the same time allowed for the air to escape. When cooled the box is opened and the article formed inside taken out and polished. This method is suited only for solid and small sized articles and not for hollow vessels or large articles. As for tin vessels, tin is imported from Madras and made into domestic vessels for which there is a large demand.[1]

Tanjore is equally famous for its industries like the making of pith articles, ornamental fans, scented bathis, engraved and inlaid work and musical instruments. These industries flourished in former times under the patronage of its kings and rajas; but nowadays they are confined only to a few families. Pith articles consist of beautiful models of Hindu idols, temples, mosques, flower garlands, bouquet, parrots and peacocks. Pith is grown on the beds of tanks in the Sirkali, Mannargudi, Mayuram, and Tanjore taluks. It is cut with a long sharp knife into wafers which are curled and pinned into the shapes of flowers and figures and then dyed and decorated with guilded metal. The garlands in particular are much in demand during Christmas time. Ornamental fans are made out of palmyra leaves; they are artistically painted and decorated with gold foils and silk threads. Scented bathis are made chiefly by Muslims who keep the art a secret to themselves. The materials used are roots of korai and of certain grasses and some varieties of herbs which are found in abundance in the district. Inlaying and engraving

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[1] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 37–41, 48.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 29–33.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 125–126.

work which was formerly known as "Tanjore Swami Work" is a speciality of Tanjore. The images chiefly of Hindu Gods are first roughly shaped on thin sheets of silver. The concave parts at the back are then filled with a kind of wax made of brick-powder, gingelly oil and frankincense to serve as a foundation and lastly the details are carefully worked out on the face of the metal with hammer and chisel. The edges of the images are turned in for the sake of neatness. A sharp incision is then made in the brass or copper plate or bowl to exactly receive the images and the images are carefully hammered into their places. The wax inside prevents the images from being caved in. Similar inlaying and engraving is also done on boxes made of copper. The work is very artistic and attractive and is very much appreciated by foreign tourists. The making of musical instruments like the veena, the tambura, the violin, the mridangam, the tabla and the kanjara is an industry as ancient as it is notable. They exhibit excellent taste, precision, knowledge and workmanship. The wood used is jack wood which is said to possess good sounding qualities.[1]

Toys of different kinds are made in a few places, some of them crude and others artistic. Of the former kind are the well-known Tanjore rocking dolls made by a few families of Rajus. The dolls are made of paper and provided with rounded bottoms of clay and the weight of the clay at the bottom makes them assume always an erect position. Of the latter kind are the fine paper toys of realistic appearance of fruits, animals and human beings. They are made by a family in a village called Koil Tirumangalam in the Nannilam taluk.[2]

There are also goldsmiths, painters, wood carvers and makers of idols. The goldsmiths are generally found in towns and some of their work, especially gold snuff boxes, had formerly a large sale in other districts and in the Straits Settlements. Pearls from the Gulf of Mannar and rubies from Burma were also formerly cut and polished by Linga Balijas in Nagore. The lapidaries of Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Vallam even now work the Vallam crystals into various objects like spectacle lenses, beads, coloured stones, etc. Oil painting was, in the days of the Tanjore Rajas, a flourishing art in the district; but now it is on the decline. In the larger towns the temple walls and even the walls of private residences are often covered with figures of Gods and heroes drawn or

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 125–127.
G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 49–57.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, pages 33–37.

[2] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 71, 74–75.
G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940, page 31.

painted with considerable skill and sometimes decorated with sparkling stones or pieces of metal. Wood carving is generally done by workmen called 'Car Carpenters' from the fact that their skill is usually exercised in carving images on temple cars. They also carve door frames and sometimes make dolls or idols. Large idols of stone and marble and figures of Gods on ivory and metal were formerly made in Tanjore by some Visva Brahmins.[1]

Some other industries found in the district are pottery, basketry, rattan work and the making of fancy boxes of palmyra leaves, reed thattis and fishing nets. Earthen pots made in Tiruvarur and Nagapattinam are said to stand heat better than pots made in other places and they have a reputation even in Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. Baskets chiefly of bamboo, which grows everywhere in the district, are made by Koravas, Shanars, Nadars and others. Rattan works are made mostly by the Muslims in many places in the Sirkali taluk and in the Vedaranyam area in the Tiruthuraipundi taluk. The rattan used is local rattan which grows wild on the banks of channels and ponds and especially on either side of the southern bund of the Coleroon as well as imported rattan from Sriharikota in Nellore and from Singapore. The rattan imported from Singapore being superior is used for making articles of furniture, fancy baskets, trays, tiffin boxes, cradles, etc. The local and Sriharikota rattan being inferior is used for making baskets and 'Kattupottis'. Fancy boxes of palmyra leaves are made by the Muslim women of Nagore, the seat of the famous darga. These boxes are made with two bottoms and are painted and decorated with tinsel. Reed thattis are made by Shikari Nayakkars out of water weeds or 'Sembus' which grow wild in the railway ditches and in the beds of tanks. They are cheap and are exported even to Madras. Fishing nets which are required in large numbers by the fishermen of the coast are made by the fishermen themselves from cotton yarn or sunhemp and coir.[2]

Of the new industries that have sprung up in the district in the present century, cabinet-making, tailoring, etc. demand no description. But we must mention here something about the manufacture of crayons at Kumbakonam where there are now several chalk works. The chief material used is gypsum which is available in large quantities in Parali village of the Perambalur taluk of the Tiruchirappalli district. The gypsum is washed in water to free it from dirt and then powdered and fried and made into a thick solution by mixing it with gum,

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 126–127.
G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, page 57.

[2] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 64–66, 84.

bleaching powder and water. The solution is run into brass moulds and allowed to solidify. For making coloured chalks dyes are added to the solution. The chalks so made have, it is stated, largely displaced foreign chalks.[1]

Another new industry for which Nagapattinam has become famous is the manufacture of steel trunks. Besides excellent steel trunks are also manufactured brief bags, cash boxes, despatch boxes, etc. They are in demand in all parts of India, Burma and the Straits Settlements.[2] Nagapattinam has also started since 1936 a Steel Rolling Mill for turning out bars, rounds, flats and squares.[3]

An ancient industry which employs a considerable number of people in Tanjore is the oil-pressing industry. Oil-pressing is done in nearly 600 establishments in the district.[4] The oils made are coconut, gingelly, groundnut, iluppai, margosa and pinnai. The people engaged in this industry belong to the Vaniar caste who not only make but sell oil.[5] Oil-pressing is done in wooden mills called chekkus driven by a pair of bulls. The chekku is of the common pestle and mortar type consisting of a wooden mortar inside which revolves a wooden pestle. Pressure is regulated by attaching a weighted wooden lever to the pestle and to this lever are yoked the bulls who, as they turn in circles, revolve the pestle in the mortar and crush the seeds or copra into oil. The chekkus are now being gradually replaced by power-driven oil mills. It is, however, believed that the oil produced in the chekkus has not only better flavour but also better nutritive value than the oil extracted in the mills.[6]

The only large-scale industry which can be said to exist in Tanjore is the rice milling industry. This new industry has rapidly expanded and practically displaced the old hand-pounding industry. There are more than 700 rice mills, big and small, scattered all over the district.[7]

These are the various industries of the district. Most of them are suffering from one drawback or another. Most of them are in the hands of middlemen; most of them do not bring adequate profits to the actual workers commensurate with their skill and labour; most of them employ only poor, ignorant workers who are perpetually in debt; and most of them suffer for want of finance, for want of organization, for want of storage and marketing facilities and for want of

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1 G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports, pages 69–71.
2 Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, page 179.
3 G.O. No. 353, Development, dated 12th February 1937.
4 1951 Census Handbook, page 14.
5 Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 128.
6 Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, page 295.
7 *Idem*, pages 310–311.

improved technical knowledge. The Government have been quite alive to all these drawbacks which are prevalent not only in Tanjore but also in the other districts. The Department of Industries and Commerce has been trying to develop and improve these industries ever since it was organized in 1914. It has made several investigations through special officers into the condition of the cottage industries in the various districts especially in 1929 and in 1939[1]. It has, since the advent of the National Government, carried on detailed investigations into several individual cottage industries and reorganized regional museums for the display of articles of cottage and small scale industries. It has reorganized the several training institutes in Madras, opened new polytechnics and rendered financial aid to a large number of private schools, in order to impart technical education on up-to-date lines on the various cottage industries. In Tanjore there are five such aided schools, namely, the District Board Industrial School and the St. Francis Industrial School at Tanjore and the St. Mary's Industrial School, the Municipal Arts School and the St. Cicily's Industrial School at Kumbakonam. The Department has also been granting financial aid to deserving industries under the State Aid to Industries Act of 1922. It has likewise been, through its officers, offering technical advice, rendering assistance for procuring raw material and for finding markets for finished goods and supplying the tools and machinery required for industrial purposes. So far as Tanjore is concerned, the Assistant Director of Industries and Commerce at Cuddalore looks after this district also and he has under him a Supervisor at Tanjore. The Department moreover has been sending special peripatetic parties to demonstrate the best methods of weaving, coir-making, etc., to the various districts including Tanjore. Recently under the Firka Development Scheme initiated by the National Government in 1946, it has expanded its activities still further and done much to foster cottage industries in the selected firkas of which the Saliamangalam firka in Tanjore is one.[2] These activities are dealt with fully in the chapter on Welfare Schemes. Nor is this all. It has been assisting the Co-operative Department in reviving and reorganizing the cottage industries on a co-operative basis. Co-operation, indeed, has been suggested as the only effective remedy for most of the ills from which the cottage industries are suffering; for eliminating the middlemen, for improving the status and profits of the workers, for providing them with credit, storage and marketing facilities and for supplying them with better tools and labour-saving machinery and better designs to suit modern tastes. All these demand separate

[1] G.O. No. 2211, Development, dated 13th December 1929—See the Tanjore and South Arcot Reports. G.O. No. 2070, Development, dated 31st August 1940.

[2] Since 1950, however, the firkas of Vedaranyam, Talanayar and Alathambadi have been selected in Tanjore.

treatment and have therefore been dealt with in the chapter on Co-operation. It should, however, be stated that the field is vast and that much still remains to be done to develop the cottage industries and to put them on a sound footing [1].

Turning to the trade of the district, it consists chiefly of the export of rice, handloom cloth, silk and cotton and metalware and the import of silk, cotton yarn, brass sheets, timber and consumer goods. A great deal of this trade is carried on by rail or road and the figures of this are not available. As to the sea-borne trade, most of the exports and imports pass through the port of Nagapattinam and only a very small amount of the trade is carried on at the other ports. It should, however, be stated that the trade of Nagapattinam is not exclusively the trade of the Tanjore district but is also that of other nearby districts connected to it by rail and road.

Fifty years ago the exports from Nagapattinam were made chiefly to the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Burma and France. They consisted of grain valued at Rs. 22,56,000 mostly to Ceylon; groundnut valued at Rs. 18,90,280 to France; cotton and silk piece-goods valued at Rs. 13,34,000 to the Straits Settlements; live animals (bullocks and sheep) valued at Rs. 4,27,300 to the Straits Settlements; ghee valued at Rs. 1,06,000 mostly to the Straits Settlements; and tanned hides and skins valued at Rs. 97,000 to the Straits Settlements and Burma. The imports at Nagapattinam were made from Burma, the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Bengal and other parts of India. They consisted chiefly of grain and pulses worth Rs. 8,29,000 mostly from Burma; betelnuts worth Rs. 8,33,000, chang and split nuts from the Straits Settlements and arecanuts from Ceylon; timber (mostly teak) worth Rs. 5,90,000 from Burma; gunny bags worth Rs. 2,28,000 from Ceylon and Bengal; white Manchester cloth worth Rs. 2,21,000 from the Straits Settlements; wearing apparel worth Rs. 1,40,000 from the Straits Settlements and Bengal; coal worth Rs. 1,21,000 apparently from Bengal; and cereals of various kinds worth Rs. 2,77,000 from several parts of India. The total value of the exports amounted to Rupees 73,03,000 and the total value of the imports amounted to Rs. 44,78,000. Most of these articles continued to be exported and imported from Nagapattinam till the beginning of the Second World War [2].

But the position has now changed. During the Second World War and even afterwards down to 1950 at any rate (the year with which this book closes), on account of the several controls and restrictions imposed on foreign trade by

[1] For the activities of the Department, See its annual administration reports.

[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 130–131.

the Government, there has been a change both in the volume of trade and the nature of the exports and imports. In 1949–50, for instance, the exports from Nagapattinam were made mostly to the Straits Settlements and Ceylon alone and they chiefly consisted of tobacco manufactured and unmanufactured valued at Rs. 11,41,023 to Ceylon; onions valued at Rs. 9,01,770 to the Straits Settlements; sugar molasses, including cane and palmyra jaggery, valued at Rs. 6,32,776 to Ceylon and the Straits Settlements; fish and shark fins, etc., valued at Rs. 2,88,191 to the Straits Settlements and Ceylon; turmeric valued at Rs. 2,54,502 to the Straits Settlements; and cotton and silk piece-goods valued at Rs. 1,60,321 to the Straits Settlements. Among other exports of smaller value are provisions, oils, cardamoms, brassware, hardware and cutlery, cashewnuts, asafoetida, drugs and books to the Straits Settlements, and earthenware, building materials, coriander, perfumery and apparels to Ceylon. In the same year the imports at Nagapattinam were made from the Straits Settlements, Burma, Ceylon and China. They consisted chiefly of betelnuts worth Rs. 17,45,698 from the Straits Settlements, timber (teak and other timber) worth Rs. 2,17,938 from Burma and Ceylon; gums and resins worth Rs. 36,840 from the Straits Settlements; old newspaper worth Rs. 14,926 from the Straits Settlements and China; farinaceous foods worth Rs. 13,815 from the Straits Settlements; stick lac and seed lac worth Rs. 7,669 from the Straits Settlements; and chanks and shells worth Rs. 2,433 from Ceylon. Among the minor imports may be mentioned drugs and medicines, tanning barks, dyeing materials, wireless apparatus, jewellery, patent foods, cloves and pepper. The total value of exports and imports at Nagapattinam were Rs. 39,89,148 and Rs. 28,37,234 respectively.[1]

No exports were made from any of the minor ports in 1949–50, but timber worth Rs. 55,858 was imported from Ceylon at Thopputhurai and Tirumullaivasal.[2]

Prior to the Second World War there was no restriction on the internal movement of any commodities. But, as a result of the war and the acute scarcity of several essential commodities, controls of various kinds were introduced by the Government for fixing fair prices, for preventing hoarding and blackmarketing and for ensuring an equitable distribution. Among these measures, the most important was the compulsory procurement of foodgrain, especially rice, through Government agency and its rationing through co-operative societies and other authorized dealers. Tanjore, being the premier surplus district in rice, was naturally called upon to

[1] These figures have been collected from the office of the Collector of Customs and they represent only the sea-borne trade.
[2] *Idem.*

contribute her surplus rice, amounting nearly to two lakhs of tons per annum, for distribution to the other deficit districts of this State. Procurement was introduced in Tanjore in 1942 and rationing in urban areas was introduced in 1943–1944. This was followed by the introduction of informal rationing in rural areas in 1945–1946, so that by 1946 the whole of the district came under some form of rationing or other. In December 1947 rationing (both urban and rural) was discontinued in the whole State ; but when, in January 1949, it was introduced again on account of the extraordinary rise in prices, Tanjore alone, among the districts in this State, was excepted. Procurement, however, was continued in Tanjore until 15th June 1952 when both procurement and rationing were finally abolished in this State. It should be noted that almost throughout this period restrictions were also imposed on the movement and distribution of various articles like sugar, jaggery, kerosene oil, groundnut, groundnut and other oils, onions, chillies, etc.

Coming to the weights and measures, the usual weights used by goldsmiths are, 32 kundu seeds = one pagoda, 10 pagodas = 1 palam and 8 palams = 1 seer. Variants of the above which are sometimes used are, 2 kundu seeds = five dholl seeds, 8 dholl seeds = 1 panam and 10 panams = 1 pagoda. Medicines are sold by a different scale, viz., 6 paddy grains = 1 panavedai (panam) and 10 panavedai = 1 pagoda. The general commercial weights for all solids, except grain and salt (which are sold by measure) are : 16 pies = 1 palam or 3 tolas, 8 palams = 1 seer or 24 tolas, 5 seers=1 viss, 8 visses = 1 maund and 20 maunds = 1 candy.

Hides and leather are weighed in terms of a rattal of 1½ seers. Vegetables, tamarind, etc., are sometimes weighed on a balance which consists of a notched steel yard and in terms of edais (weights) of 6¼ seers each and fractions of edais. The balance is called Kaluttu Kol or 'neck stick' but this seems to be a corruption for Kayittu Kol or 'rope stick'. One end of the stick is marked by nicks, each of which denotes edais or fractions of edais and the bag of vegetables is attached tightly to that end. The stick is held up by a loop which is moved up and down the various nicks until the stick hangs horizontally, when the nick in which the loop is then fixed indicates the weight of the vegetables.

The ordinary scale of measures is as follows : 2 padis (or Madras measures of 120 tolas each) = 1 marakkal ; 12 marakkals = 1 kalam ; 13 marakkals = 1 cooly ; 2½ kalams = 1 sumai (load) ; 2 sumais = 1 uri ; and 4 uris = 1 bandy load. These measures are only used for grain and salt and, among liquids, for milk and curds and occasionally ghee. The term 'cooly' is derived from the fact that when paddy is

husked, one marakkal, out of thirteen, is usually given to the husker. Housewives and merchants when giving out paddy for husking generally, it is said, measure it out in coolies. An urai is literally a compartment in the kudir or straw receptacle built for storing grain.

Only the first two items of measure given above are said to hold good everywhere. In some seaport towns an urai is equivalent to 100 instead of 60 marakkals. Other names for the measures are also found. In Tiruthuraipundi and perhaps elsewhere also, there is a kottai equivalent to 1½ kalams or 36 padis, and a muttai (bundle) of 2 kalams or 48 padis; and in some seaports, 64 muttais = 1 karisai. In the Tanjore taluk 120 coconuts make up one sumai (load) and 40 marakkals of onions make one padi or pack. At Thiruvaiyar, 4 kalams of quicklime (nir) is equivalent to 1 mattu nir (i.e., bullock load of lime). The phrase is still in vogue, though pack animals are no longer employed. Besides these, there are the popular expressions pidi or mushti (a handful) and sirankay or sirai (the quantity that can be held in the open hand). Betel leaves are sold by the following scale: 100 leaves = 1 kavali; 20 kavalis = 1 tundu; 30 kavalis = 1 mutti; 45 kavalis = 1 muttai and 6 muttais = 1 sumai (load).

As to liquid measures, all oils except kerosene (which is bought by the bottle) are sold by a measure called adam (equivalent to 64 seers) and its sub-multiples down to one eighth. Smaller quantities are sold by seers and fractions of a seer. Milk is sold by seers of capacity and curd and butter-milk by padis. Shop-keepers sell ghee by weight, but others sell it by seers of capacity and their sub-multiples.

For distances, the English table from an inch to a mile is generally used. The span of 9 inches and the cubic of 1½ feet are commonly employed. Longer distances are expressed in time by the following scale: Mukkal naligai vali (i.e., ¾ of the time traversed in an Indian hour) = 1 mile; and 7½ naligai vali or 10 miles = 1 kadam. "The distance one can hear a shout" (kuppidu duram) and the distance of so many fields (vayal kadai duram) are also used. Rope is sold by the pavu (about 6 feet) measured from finger tip to finger tip when the arms are outstretched. For square measures besides the acre and cent, the following measures are used especially in the rural parts: 144 square feet = 1 kuli, 100 kulis = 1 ma, 4 mas = 1 kani, 20 mas = 1 veli (6-74/121 acres). Above the veli, the kurai or pangu (share) is found, but its value varies very much in different localities according to the unit adopted in sharing the village lands under the mirasi system.

The English measures of time are known everywhere; but another scale is also sometimes employed according to which 60 vinadi or kainodi (snaps of fingers) = 1 naligai (Indian hour

of 24 minutes) ; $3\frac{3}{4}$ naligais = 1 muhurtam ; 2 muhurtams or $7\frac{1}{2}$ naligais = 1 jamam of 3 hours ; and 4 jamams = a day or night of 12 hours. A number of expressions are sometimes used for describing the time of day or periods of time. The following are some of these expressions ; 'the time of pouring dung water in front of the house' (5–30 a.m.), 'breakfast time', 'second meal time', 'the time when the sun is on the crown of the head', 'the time the bullocks are unyoked', 'the time when the cattle come home', 'the time when the sun looks yellow', (5–30 p.m.), 'the time when it is no longer possible to read', 'lamp-light time', 'the after-supper nap time', and 'the time when the first cock crows'. 'The time of the Komati's ruin' is a curious phrase meaning 2 a.m. ; it is said to be derived from a story of a Komati who mistook one star for another, started a journey at a wrong time and was robbed at that hour. A sinister expression is said to be found in the Pattukkottai taluk, which is 'the time to melt and administer poison', meaning thereby midday.

Some persons in the rural parts can tell the time of day by the sun. Two methods are employed by such persons. According to the first, sixteen equal sections are marked on a piece of straw and it is then placed on the ground bent at a right angle with one part standing perpendicularly and the other lying horizontally, the parts so proportioned that the shadow of the perpendicular piece exactly coincides with the horizontal piece. The number of sixteenths on the perpendicular piece is then counted. If it is before midday, that number of naligais is considered to have elapsed since 6 a.m. and, if after midday, that number still remains before 6 p.m. According to the second method, the number of naligais which have elapsed since six in the morning or remain before six in the evening, as the case may be, are calculated by a man's taking the number of feet in his shadow, doubling it, adding eleven, and dividing the number so obtained into 210. It is said that experts will get the time right to the minute. At night the time is taken by the position of the stars in the sky.[1]

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 133–136.

CHAPTER IX.

CO-OPERATION.

Co-operation has come to play an increasingly important part in the present century, alike in agriculture, in industries and in other economic and social activities. As is well-known, co-operation aims at the achievement by joint endeavour of what is difficult of achievement by individual endeavour, especially by individuals of limited means. And, nowhere is joint endeavour more necessary than in agriculture and cottage industries which employ mostly men of very limited means. But co-operation has its uses not only for the poorer but also for the richer classes, inasmuch as it can provide them too with better facilities and greater amenities. It is the gradual realization of this that has slowly but steadily spread the co-operative movement in our country.

Agriculture has always stood in need of credit and the agriculturists have always found it necessary to borrow for meeting cultivation expenses, for maintaining their families and, if they are indebted, as they generally are, for paying the ever increasing interest on their debts. The only source from which they have been accustomed for ages to borrow are the money-lenders and the money-lenders have not only charged them exorbitant rates of interest but very often, ultimately, deprived them of their lands and turned them into mere agricultural labourers. It was estimated in 1935 that more· than 90 per cent of the credit requirements of the agriculturists were met by money-lenders. [1]

The Government have from time to time taken several measures to afford credit facilities to the agriculturists and to free them from the clutches of the money-lenders. Of these, the formation of the agricultural co-operative credit societies is one of the most important measures. But, before we deal with the co-operative societies, we may mention here something about the other measures too that have been designed to assist the agriculturists. In 1883, the Government passed the Land Improvement Loans Act (India Act XIX of 1883) under which long-term loans repayable in 20 to 30 years can be granted at cheap rates of interest for making such improvements to the land as would increase its letting value, like the construction of wells, tanks, irrigation channels, etc. In 1884, they passed the Agriculturists' Loans Act (India Act XII of 1884) under which short term and medium-term loans can be

[1] Report on Agricultural Indebtedness by W. R .S. Sathianathan, 1935, page 43.

Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 356–361.

granted for the purchase of seed grain, manure, cattle, fodder, pump-sets, etc. In 1918, they acquired power under the Usurious Loans Act (India Act X of 1918) to stop recovery of usurious rates of interest. In 1935, they passed the Madras Debtors' Protection Act (Madras Act VII of 1935) which fixed a reasonable maximum rate of interest and prescribed an improved system of keeping of accounts by money-lenders for the benefit of small debtors who borrow sums below Rs. 500. In the same year, they amended the Agriculturists' Loans Act (Madras Act XVI of 1935) so as to permit the grant of loans to agriculturists for discharging their debts and for scaling down their debts by amicable adjustment with the creditors through Special Loans Officers. In 1936, they passed the Madras Debt Conciliation Act (Madras Act XI of 1936) which provides for voluntary and amicable settlement of debts by bringing together the agriculturist debtors and their creditors through the medium of Special Conciliation Boards. In the same year they amended the Usurious Loans Act in order to make it more effective (Madras Act VIII of 1937). Finally, in 1938, they passed the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act (Madras Act IV of 1938) for affording substantial relief to indebted agriculturists by scaling down their existing debts, by reducing the rate of interest on their future debts and by writing off their arrears of rent due to Zamindars, jenmis and other landholders. Experience has, however, shown certain defects in the working of these acts, which have, to some extent, nullified the intentions of the Government. The Takkavi Loans granted under the Acts of 1883 and 1884 are stated to have failed to become popular because of the delays and irksome enquiries, because of the insufficiency of the loans granted and because of the rigour with which they are collected as arrears of land revenue. The Debtors' Protection Act of 1935 has been found to be defective, inasmuch as the creditors have been required to render accounts only if asked for by the debtors. The Agriculturists' Loans Amendment Act of 1935 and the Debt Conciliation Act of 1936 are said to have given only an infinitesimal relief to the agriculturists on account of the voluntary element involved in them. Even the Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1938 is stated to have not attained its object, as it has tended to curtail rural credit, to drive the agriculturists, as before, to the money-lenders and to drive the money-lenders to devise various ways for circumventing the Act.[1]

In industries too, the conditions have been no better. Most of the cottage and small-scale industries have gradually come into the grip of capitalists, money-lenders, master-weavers, and master workers.[2] Most of the workers, as a rule,

[1] Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 363–364, 369–374.

[2] Chapter VIII, pages 190–191, supra.

have neither facilities for obtaining credit, nor facilities for purchasing raw materials at cheap rates and marketing their finished goods at competitive prices. The State Aid to Industries Act of 1922 (Act V of 1923) under which loans are granted has failed to touch even the fringe of the problem of industrial credit. Nor have the various attempts made to improve industries by opening industrial schools and museums and by rendering technical aid by demonstration removed the need to devise some machinery for procuring and distributing raw materials and arranging for the sale of finished goods. [1]

It is in this back ground that the value of the co-operative organizations which the Government have encouraged becomes evident. As early as 1892 they appointed Sir Frederick Nicholson as a special officer to enquire how far the methods of co-operation adopted in Europe could be adopted in Madras to relieve rural indebtedness. He recommended the formation of rural co-operative societies on the lines of the Raiffeisen societies of Germany for the provision of rural credit on reasonable terms and for the encouragement of thrift among the rural population. Nothing came of this [2] but within a few years the Government of India appointed a committee on co-operation with Sir Frederick Nicholson as one of the members and, on the recommendations of that committee, passed the Co-operative Credit Socities Act (Act X of 1904). This Act envisaged the formation of "small and simple co-operative societies for small and simple folk with simple needs and requiring small sums only" for short periods. Under this Act the Madras Central Urban Bank and two district central banks were registered with the object of financing the co-operative credit societies and several such co-operative credit societies soon came into being. This Act was, however, replaced in 1912 by another Act (India Act II of 1912), which was more comprehensive and which made provision for the formation of central credit societies and co-operative institutions of all types and for all purposes. Under this Act central banks were formed in one district after another as well as urban banks and societies of various types other than agricultural credit societies, such as the marketing societies, the weavers' societies and the consumers' stores. Then came the First World War and close upon its heels the provincialization of the subject of co-operation under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, and a period of agricultural prosperity, of rapid expansion of the co-operative movement. In 1917, in order to finance the central banks and to co-ordinate their activities, the Madras

[1] Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 311–312.

[2] Report regarding the possibility of introducing land and agricultural banks into the Madras Presidency, 1895, Vols. I and II.
G.O. No. 1576, Revenue, dated 27th April 1896.
G.O. No. 701, Revenue, dated 13th October 1899.

Central Urban Bank was converted into the Madras Provincial (now State) Co-operative Bank. And, as these banks could not grant long-term loans to agriculturists, the formation of land mortgage banks on co-operative basis was sanctioned in 1925 for granting such loans. These banks were authorized to float debentures on the security of the lands mortgaged to them by individual borrowers. But as each one of these banks issued its own series of debentures and caused confusion and reluctance on the part of the public to purchase them, in 1929, on the recommendation of the Townsend Committee, the Central Land Mortgage Bank was organized for the centralized issue of debentures and for financing the primary land mortgage banks. The economic depression which then began set the clock back for a time and ushered in a period more of consolidation and of reconstruction of the existing societies than of formation of new societies. This period, however, witnessed several happy auguries. It witnessed the expansion of land mortgage banks and non-credit societies. It witnessed the passing of Act VI of 1932 which remedied the defects noticed in the Act of 1912 and the passing of Act X of 1934 which regulated the working of the land mortgage banks. It also witnessed the appointment of a special committee (Vijayaraghava Achariar Committee) in 1939 which made several suggestions for the improvement of co-operative societies. Co-operation was thus put on a better footing, but its chance for an unprecedented expansion came only with the outbreak of the Second World War when, owing to the rise in prices and the scarcity of food-stuffs, the introduction of controls and rationing and the need for settling ex-servicemen in profitable avocations, several new types of co-operative societies came into existence and several old types of co-operative societies began to undertake new work. Meanwhile, the Government of India appointed two committees, the Agricultural Finance Sub-Committee (Gadgil Committee) and the Co-operative Planning Committee (Saraiya Committee) for suggesting post-war development of co-operation and their recommendations were considered by the conference of the Registrars of Co-operative Societies held in Madras in 1947. All these recommendations as well as the Post-war Reconstruction Schemes drawn up by the Adviser Government in 1945 were examined, and, where necessary, modified and implemented by the National Government.[1]

Turning to the various types of co-operative societies, the structure of co-operative credit gradually built up at different times now consists of the Madras State Co-operative Bank and

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[1] Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 4–11.
Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 364–369, 375–378.
Post-war Reconstruction and Development Schemes of the Government of Madras, 1945, pages 5, 53–58, 69–70.

the Madras Central Land Mortgage Bank at the apex for securing the needs of the whole State and the various central banks, the urban banks, the primary land mortgage banks, the agricultural credit societies, the employees' credit societies and other miscellaneous credit societies at the base for securing the needs of the districts. The Madras State Co-operative Bank obtains its funds from Government loans, from borrowings from the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India and from deposits and passes on these funds to the central banks who, in turn, pass them on to the primary agricultural credit societies, urban banks, etc. It normally borrows at a concessional rate of 1½ per cent interest and lends to the central banks at 2½ per cent interest and the central banks lend to the agricultural credit and other societies affiliated to them at about 4½ per cent interest [1]. The Central Land Mortgage Bank raises funds from the public in the shape of 20 years debentures guaranteed by the Government (up to 7 crores) at rates consistent with the prevailing market conditions and lends the funds to the district or primary land mortgage banks which, in turn, lend them to the agriculturists on the security of their lands.[2]

The agricultural credit societies form the most numerous as well as the most important of the primary societies. They obtain their funds chiefly from borrowings from the central banks. Each one of them is organized on the collective guarantee of the agriculturists of the village with unlimited liability and limited dividends. Credit is obtained on the joint security of the members who are all generally residents of one village. The societies are managed on the democratic principle of one member one vote. The general body of the society elects a panchayat in which is vested the executive administration and the panchayatdars elect a president and a secretary from among themselves. The bye-laws of these societies permit not only the granting of loans but also the taking up of a wide variety of functions. Normally, however, the societies are largely confining their attention to the granting of loans, credit being the crying need of the ryots. But during the Second World War, when rationing and controls were in force, many of these societies undertook the purchase and distribution of essential commodities. And recently, since February 1949, under a scheme introduced by the National

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[1] See the pamphlet entitled the Co-operative Movement by J. C. Ryan, 1954, page 1.
Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 368–369.
The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 94–138.

[2] See the pamphlet entitled the Co-operative Movement by J. C. Ryan, 1954. pages 2–3.
Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 375–378.
The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 138–174.

Government,[1] several of them have undertaken multi-purpose activities such as the supply of the agricultural, industrial and domestic requirements of the members, the marketing of their produce, the collection and sale of milk and the promotion of social and recreational activities. They have also taken part in the food production measures launched by the Government by distributing chemical manure, iron and steel, by arranging to get fallow lands on lease for cultivation and by encouraging the members to dig pits for making rural compost.[2]

The non-agricultural credit societies, the urban banks, the employees' societies and the other miscellaneous credit societies, are situated in the towns and cater to the credit needs of the middle-class and lower middle-class people such as the artisans, traders, public servants, mill hands, etc. The urban banks raise funds chiefly by obtaining deposits from the members and non-members and sometimes by borrowing from the central banks. They issue loans on personal security, on the mortgage of immovable property, on the security of non-agricultural and industrial produce, on agricultural produce where there are no marketing societies, on jewels and on insurance policies other than those coming under the Pension-*cum*-Provident Fund Scheme of the Government. Those that have a working capital exceeding one lakh of rupees and fully qualified paid secretaries have been permitted to undertake the business of discounting cheques and collection of bills of their members after adopting the necessary safeguards. The employees' societies raise funds chiefly by borrowing from central banks, collect compulsory thrift deposits from the members, issue loans to the members and recover the dues by deduction from the pay bills, if necessary.[3]

In Tanjore there are all these co-operative credit organizations, the central banks, the urban banks, the land mortgage banks, the agricultural credit societies, and the employees' and other credit societies. In 1949–50 there were 2 central banks, 10 urban banks, 9 land mortgage banks, over 974 agricultural credit societies and 37 employees' and other credit societies. The two central banks had 882 affiliated societies and 383 individual members, a paid-up share capital of Rs. 4,72,481 and a working capital of Rs. 92,26,516. The land mortgage banks issued loans to the extent of Rs. 4,51,166 during the year and they had loans outstanding to the extent of

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[1] G.O. No. 5613, Development, dated 12th November 1948.

[2] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 13–70.
Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pp. 366–368.
Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras, 1950, pages 31–34.

[3] *Idem*, page 35.
The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 71–90.

Rs. 26,43,786. Regarding the agricultural credit societies, their share capital amounted to Rs. 8,09,350, their reserve fund to Rs. 7,89,533, their working capital to Rs. 63,43,231 and their loans, short-term and long-term, outstanding to Rs. 23,88,922. The value of the essential commodities purchased by them in the same year amounted to Rs. 9,48,339 and the value of their sales to Rs. 9,96,285.[1]

Of the co-operative credit societies of the district the Raghavambalpuram Co-operative Credit Society, situated in the Tanjore taluk, is one of the most important. In 1948–49 it had 209 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 5,708 and it gave credit facilities to its members to the extent of Rs. 36,101 for cultivation expenses, payment of kist, etc. It also undertook the distribution of provisions and mill cloth to its members as well as non-members. Another important society is the Paravakottai Co-operative Credit Society of the Mannargudi taluk. It had 526 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 9,559 and it gave credit facilities to its members to the extent of Rs. 84,580. It also distributed mill cloth and provisions and ran a night school out of the common good fund, where about 60 adults were given instruction. A third society is the Vadapathimangalam Co-operative Credit Society. It had 192 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 3,045. Its total purchase of controlled articles amounted to Rs. 47,717 and its total sales to Rs. 49,246. A fourth society is the Poovanur Co-operative Credit Society of the same taluk. It had 494 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 7,569 and it gave credit accommodation to its members to the extent of Rs. 53,210. It also helped the general public by distributing cloth and rice rations.[2]

So much about the co-operative credit organizations. As to the non-credit organizations, there are in the Tanjore district as elsewhere, two types of such organizations, namely, the agricultural and the non-agricultural co-operative societies. The agricultural co-operative societies that are found in the district consist of the sale or marketing societies, the milk supply unions and societies, the cattle breeding societies, the egg production societies, the apiary societies, the agricultural improvement societies, the agricultural demonstration societies, the land reclamation societies, the tenants and field labourers' societies, the land colonization societies, the irrigation societies and the consolidation of holding societies.[3] We may take

[1] These and other statistics in the following pages are taken from the annual administration reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies, Tanjore and Kumbakonam, for 1948–1949 and 1949–1950. In some cases where the figures for 1949–1950 are not available, the figures for 1948–1949 have been taken.

[2] The Report of the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Tanjore, dated 2nd October 1949.

[3] Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Co-operative Societies, Tanjore and Kumbakonam, for 1949–50.

these societies one by one and indicate their general nature as well as the position they occupy in the district.

The marketing societies are intended to enable the agriculturists to market their produce profitably, holding it over, if necessary, until the prices rise. They generally advance loans to the members on the security of their produce, own or rent godowns for storage, and deal in a variety of produce like paddy, groundnut, coconut, etc. The obtain their finances from the central banks not only on the security of their share capital but also on the security of their produce. During the Second World War they were utilized for distributing manure and agricultural implements in connection with the Grow More Food Campaign. Since the year 1948–49 the National Government have given a great fillip to these societies as well as to the rural credit societies by granting subsidies to the extent of 50 per cent of the cost of godowns put up by them.[1] In the same year there were 20 marketing societies in the Tanjore district with 5,852 members and a share capital amounting to Rs. 1,29,229. Among these societies the Tanjore District Co-operative Federation, Tiruvarur, is the most outstanding society. In 1949–50 it had 424 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 85,370 and it procured foodgrains worth Rs. 10·60 lakhs and distributed chemical manures and groundnut cake worth Rs. 6·14 lakhs.[2]

The milk supply unions and societies are started with the object of collecting milk under sanitary conditions from the producers in the country parts and distributing it to people living in towns and cities and to public institutions like hospitals, jails, etc. The first milk supply society was formed in Madras in 1926–27. The success of this society led to the formation of similar societies in other towns and the Second World War gave them a great fillip. They have received an added impetus under the Three-Year Plan inaugurated by the National Government in 1948. Under this plan the Government have given interest-free loans to the unions and societies to purchase milch animals, lorries and vans. The Government have also provided them free veterinary assistance. Nor is this all. Under the Dairy Development Scheme initiated by the Government in 1948, the milk supply unions have received technical assistance for hygienic milk production, for the feeding of animals, for the improvement of their breed and for the establishment of dry stock farms. The societies borrow the funds required by them from the unions to which

[1] Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1949, pages 45–47.
Idem for 1950, pages 52–53.
The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 177–216.
G.O. No. 1807, Development, dated 2nd April 1949.

[2] Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1950, page 56 and the Reports of the Deputy Registrars of Tanjore and Kumbakonam for 1949–50.

they are affiliated, from the central banks and from the Government. They give loans to the members for the purchase of milch animals, buy and maintain breeding animals for their use and buy or rent the machinery required for the preparation of by-products.[1] In the Tanjore district in 1949–50 there were 49 milk societies with 5,346 members and a share capital of Rs. 53,684. They sold milk to the value of Rs. 7,19,630. Twenty-seven of these societies were affiliated to three milk supply unions and the value of the milk sold by the unions amounted to Rs. 3,54,114. Of the 49 milk-supply societies, 17 employing 1,465 men were started for giving employment to the toddy tappers thrown out of employment by the introduction of prohibition in the district in 1947.

The object of cattle-breeding societies is to promote the economic interests of their members by improving their methods of cattle breeding, by diffusing among them up-to-date information on the subject and by arranging for the grazing and the joint purchase and sale of cattle. They get subsidies from the Government for the maintenance of good breeding bulls.[2] There was, however, only one cattle-breeding society in the district in 1949–50. The egg production societies are formed to enable the ryots, who have taken to poultry farming as a subsidiary occupation, to market their eggs profitably in towns and cities. They also introduce and develop improved breeds of poultry by advancing loans to the members for those purposes. They have been very much assisted by a subsidy scheme sanctioned by the Government in 1945.[3] In 1949–50 there were four egg production societies in the district with 224 members and Rs. 483 share capital. The apiary societies are formed for encouraging bee-keeping as a side line to agriculture. They supply hives to the members, collect the honey from them and market it. There were two such societies in Tanjore in 1949–50. One of them, the Tirukkattupalli Apiary Co-operative Society, had 206 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 275 and it produced honey worth Rs. 268 and sold honey worth Rs. 302. It was given a subsidy of Rs. 100 by the Government towards half the cost of equipment purchased by it.

The agricultural improvement societies are intended for the propagation and supply of improved varieties of seed, manure, implements, etc., and, in some cases, for finding a sale for the produce of the members. They encourage the members to carry on demonstration on their own lands. There was only

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[1] Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras, 1949, pages 50–56.
Idem for 1950, pages 58–61.
The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. 1, pages 217–258.
G.O. No. 5930, Development, dated 2nd December 1948.

[2] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 258–261.

[3] *Idem*, pages 264–267.

one such society in the district in 1949–50 with 373 members and a share capital of Rs. 2,135. The main object of the agricultural demonstration societies is that of imparting to their members a knowledge of the latest improvements in agriculture by actual demonstration carried out according to the advice of the Agricultural Department. The societies acquire by purchase or lease plots of lands for this purpose. There were six such societies in the district in 1949–50.

The land reclamation societies were first started in the districts of Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli to reclaim large areas of land which had been covered by sand by the Cauvery floods of 1924. The Government assisted them with takkavi loans and nearly six miles of tram lines and more than 400 trucks for removing the sand. With this assistance the societies reclaimed a good portion of the lands. In 1945 the Government sanctioned a scheme for the formation of more societies with the special object of reclaiming patta lands in the Pattukkottai taluk and making them fit for cultivation under the Cauvery-Mettur Project. These were originally sanctioned for 20 villages, but subsequently they were extended to several other villages so that by 1950 there were 36 societies with 7,060 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 70,824. They are granted long-term loans by the Government and they borrow also funds from the central bank to provide finance to their members for cultivation expenses, purchase of cattle, etc. The members are bound to deliver their produce to the societies for sale. The societies also arrange for the sale of the milk produced by the members. They reclaimed till 1950 nearly 4,000 acres of land and the scheme may be regarded as a success.[1] The tenants' and field labourers' societies are composed mostly of agricultural labourers, the Harijans and members of other backward communities and are formed for the purpose of enabling them to take on lease padugai and other Government waste land for short periods. The lands are parcelled out among the members for cultivation.[2] There were six such societies in the district in 1949–50.

The land colonization societies are co-operative organizations of the tenant farming type. They were originally started for encouraging the educated unemployed to take up agriculture as an occupation. But they did not prove successful. They are at present of two kinds; one exclusively for civilians, generally for the landless poor and the Harijans and the other exclusively for ex-service men and other demobilized personnel.

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[1] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 87–88.
Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1950, pages 51–52.
G.O. No. 2065, Development, dated 28th May 1946.
G.O. No. 493, Development, dated 8th February 1947.

[2] Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the State o Madras for 1950, pages 48–49.

They are designed not only for improving the economic condition of the agricultural labourers but also for increasing the food production by reclaiming waste lands. Government waste lands are assigned to them in compact blocks of 50 acres or more of valuable lands or of 100 acres or more of ordinary lands. The societies hold the land on ryotwari tenure and are responsible for paying the land revenue, water-cess and other taxes. The members have occupancy rights in their holdings so long as they cultivate them, pay their dues and carry out the intentions of the society. If any member fails to abide by these conditions, he is liable to be expelled from the society and his land is liable to be transferred to another member. A member has no right to sublet or mortgage or otherwise encumber his holding ; his holding is also impartible and will, on his death, pass on undivided to his nominee or senior male heir and, failing this, to the society. Thus the ownership of the land vests permanently with the society, while the members hold the lands only as tenants. Recently, however, the Government have, on the recommendation of the Harijan Welfare Committee, permitted the societes to assign lands permanently to all landless poor members (both the Harijans and non-Harijans) subject to the condition that in the case of the Harijans the lands should not be alienated by them to any non-Harijan. These societies receive substantial aid from the Government such as free grants for payment of initial share capital, for the purchase of bulls, manure and seed and interest-free loans for the purchase of agricultural implements and for reclamation. They are also exempted from the payment of assessment, water-rate and cesses for three years and afforded free technical assistance by the Co-operative and Agricultural Departments in the initial stages. Nor is this all. For the promotion of cottage industries and subsidiary occupations they receive free grants from the Government.[1] There were five such societies in the district in 1949–50, four for civilians and one for ex-service men. They had 685 members and a share capital of Rs. 1,18,201. The ex-service men's society received special grants from the Government and the Post-War Services Reconstruction Fund for the construction of huts and for digging wells for drinking water, etc.

The irrigation societies and the consolidation of holdings societies have not achieved much anywhere in the State. The former are generally known as Kudimaramath Societies and are formed for the purpose of keeping the supply and feeder channels and irrigation works generally, in proper repair, for regulating and supervising the supply of water to the lands

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[1] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 276–286.
Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1950, pages 41–43.
G.O. No. 399, Revenue, dated 28th February 1944.
G.O. No. 3349, Development, dated 2nd September 1946.
G.O. No. 4380, Development, dated 9th September 1947.

belonging to the members and for preventing the stray cattle from damaging the crops of the members' lands. The expenses of carrying out the repairs and of keeping the irrigation sources in proper condition are expected to be collected from the members (as also from non-members) according to the provisions of the Madras Compulsory Labour Act (India Act I of 1858). But this is rarely collected.[1] There was only one such society in the district in 1948–49. The consolidation of holdings societies are started with the object of consolidating small bits of agricultural holdings by mutual consent among the ryots. But their progress has not been satisfactory owing to the unwillingness of the ryots to part with their holdings, however small they may be.[2] There was only one such society in the district in 1948–49.

Coming now to the non-agricultural co-operative societies, there is an equally wide variety of such societies in the district. There are, among them, the primary stores, the students' stationery stores, the weavers' societies, the metal workers' societies, the coir workers' societies, the leather workers' societies, the fishermen's societies and the palm jaggery manufacturers' societies. There are also the building societies, the house-building societies, the house-construction societies, the motor transport societies, the cartmen's societies, the labour contract societies, the printing press societies, the better living societies, the thrift societies and the lawyers' societies.

The primary co-operative stores, or the consumers' societies as they are generally called, aim at eliminating the middlemen in trade by purchasing wholesale and distributing consumers' goods to their members at reasonable prices. Ordinarily they are expected to raise the funds required by them from their share capital, but they are not precluded from borrowing from central banks. They were started as early as 1905 but, with the single exception of the well-known Triplicane Stores, all of them proved unsuccessful. They have, however, assumed not a little importance since the Second World War, since the procurement, the rationing and the controls began. During the war and down to 1950, the year with which this account closes, several of them procured and all of them purchased and sold all kinds of goods and rationed articles not only to the members but also to the general public. Several of them also procured and sold mill cloth, arranged for the hulling of paddy into rice and distributed coffee seeds

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[1] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 286–287.
Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras for 1950, page 50.
Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswamy, 1947, page 381.

[2] Report on the working of Co-operative Societies in the State of Madras, 1950, pages 50–51.

and iron and steel pipes, tubes and fittings.[1] In 1948–49 there were no less than 93 co-operative stores in the district with 26,778 members and a share capital of Rs. 4,83,315. They purchased goods worth Rs. 85,22,228 and sold goods worth Rs. 91,25,217. The most notable of the stores in the district are the Tiruvarur Co-operative Stores and the Chandrasekharapuram Co-operative Stores. The former which was started in 1943 had 1,125 members in 1949 and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 23,437. It sells all commodities, groceries, rice, cloth, vessels, drugs and other consumer goods. In 1948–49 its total purchases came to Rs. 6,91,888 and its total sales to Rs. 7,27,950. It has several branches and has undertaken several new activities for the benefit of the consuming public ; it runs a medical shop, a canteen, a reading room and a recreation club. The Chandrasekharapuram Co-operative Stores has also developed its business all round and it deals even in articles like bicycles and its sales in 1948–49 exceeded Rs. 4 lakhs. As to the students' co-operative stores, there were 21 such stores in the district in 1948–49 and they sold goods to the value of Rs. 2,92,533.[2]

The most important organizations of the cottage industries type are the weavers' co-operative societies formed primarily for providing raw materials like yarn or small cash advances to weavers and for finding markets for their finished goods. These societies started in the earlier days were not very successful owing to the vested interests of the master weavers and other intermediaries, to the indebtedness among the weavers and to the difficulties experienced in finding a sale for their finished goods. Their chief difficulty lay, of course, in marketing, since they had to compete with cheaper mill-made cloth of all sorts. In 1935, however, they received an impetus under the Government of India subvention scheme[3] which made it possible to organize a central co-operative society for the State, called the Madras Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society. This State Society to which all primary weavers' societies are affiliated purchases and distributes the raw materials and appliances required by the societies, arranges for marketing their finished goods and gives them financial as well as technical assistance when required. The weavers' societies received a temporary fillip during the war period when there was scarcity of cloth but, very soon, owing to the scarcity of yarn and loss of export markets they received a set-back. The societies raise funds by borrowing from the Central Banks, purchase yarn from the State Co-operative Society and

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[1] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 329–372.
Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies for 1950, pages 69–86.

[2] Report of the Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Tanjore, dated 2nd October 1949.

[3] G.O. No. 368, Development, dated 8th March 1935.

distribute it to the weaver members specifying the varieties of cloths to be produced and receive the finished goods. The cloth is mostly sold by the societies locally, but such of it as cannot be sold by them is marketed through the State Society through its numerous emporiums and sales depots not only in this State but also outside the State. The State Society maintains also one printing factory, some dyeing factories and one co-operative spinning mill. In order to relieve the distress caused among the weavers by the slump in the handloom industry, the Government have reserved several items of cloth to be produced exclusively by the handlooms and granted interest-free loans to the weavers to enable them to join the co-operative societies. They have also set up a State Handloom Committee consisting of representatives of handloom weavers, cloth merchants, yarn dealers and mill-owners, to advise them on the steps to be taken to help the handloom industry in all possible ways.[1] There were in 1948–49 in the district 18 weavers' co-operative societies with 2,809 members and a share capital of Rs. 1,25,468; and they sold finished goods to the value of Rs. 10,82,477. At Tirunageswaram the State Society runs a collective weaving centre.

Co-operative societies of the cottage industries type other than handlooms, such as the metal workers' societies, the coir workers' societies and the mat workers' societies, though still in their infancy, hold out much scope for rural reconstruction. It has already been seen in the chapter on Industries and Trade how great a scope there is for the development of such industries in Tanjore. But co-operation in this field is greatly handicapped for want of finance. The central banks are very chary in giving loans to the cottage industries societies, as such societies are generally composed of poor and illiterate workmen with no tangible assets.[2] Realizing, however, the importance of encouraging cottage industries societies, the Adviser Government in 1945 drew up a Five-Year Plan for their development.[3] The National Government after much consideration replaced this plan by a One-Year Plan in 1949 and placed a lump sum grant at the disposal of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for subsidizing deserving cottage industries by giving grants for the purchase of tools and equipment and for meeting part of the establishment and contingent charges. The Government have also constituted a

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[1] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 288–310.
Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 382–383.
Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies for 1950, pages 86–94.
G.O. No. 466, Development, dated 6th February 1947.

[2] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 310–328.

[3] Post-war Reconstruction and Development Schemes of the Government of Madras, 1945, pages 53–54.

State Cottage Industries Board consisting of officials and non-officials to devise ways and means for the intensive development of cottage industries. This Board aims at reviving and developing the cottage industries in such a manner as to make full use of all the man-power, all the traditional artistic skill and workmanship and all the raw materials available in the rural areas. It also aims at achieving the economic self-sufficiency of the villages, at raising the standard of living of the villagers and at establishing, where possible, mechanized cottage industries based on modern technique.[1] A great deal, however, yet remains to be done. In Tanjore there were only a few cottage industries societies in 1948–49; there were only two metal workers' societies, one at Kumbakonam and the other at Nachiyarkoil, four mat workers' societies, two coir workers' societies and one leather workers' society. Of these only one, namely, the Kumbakonam Metal Works, Limited, was of some importance. Started in 1946 for giving employment to ex-servicemen it had, in 1949, 103 members and a paid-up share capital of Rs. 5,576. In 1948–49 it sold goods to the value of Rs. 38,313. It is also a training centre recognized and subsidized by the Government.

The fishermen's societies are formed with the object of improving the socio-economic condition of fishermen and promoting the technical and commercial aspects of the fishing industry. Their members are mostly drawn from the fishermen community, the Harijans and other backward classes. Considering the helpless condition of these societies, the Government have given them leases of inland fisheries at reasonable rates.[2] There were four such societies in the district in 1949–50, and they got leases from the Government to the value of Rs. 52,273.

The palm jaggery manufacturing co-operative societies are formed for providing alternative employment to ex-toddy tappers who have been thrown out of work by the introduction of prohibition. For the organization and supervision of these societies, the Government have, at their own cost, appointed a special staff of Senior Inspectors; and for teaching the members of these societies the manufacture of refined jaggery and for developing the industry in general, they have also appointed a State Palm Gur Organizer with headquarters at Madras. Under a scheme approved by the Government in 1949 several candidates were trained for a period of four months in the Instructor's course at the Central Palm Gur Training School, Cuddalore, conducted by the Government of India; and these candidates after training were appointed as Palm Gur Instructors and sent to the districts for giving

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[1] Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies for 1950, page 96.
[2] *Idem*, page 110.

training to the members of the societies. The manufacture of jaggery being a seasonal occupation, the members of the societies have been encouraged to take to subsidiary occupations like dairying during the off season. [1] There were 11 such societies in the district.

The building societies, the house-building societies and the house-construction societies are mostly of recent growth. They are generally meant for the benefit of people in the urban areas. The building societies advance long-term loans to the members for the construction of houses on sites owned by the members, while the house-building societies generally apply to the Government for the acquisition of sites selected by the housing committees, divide the land among the members and construct houses for them as their agents. The house-construction societies acquire sites, construct houses on a proprietary basis and rent them out to the members on the hire-purchase system under which the tenant will become the absolute owner only after he has paid off the entire value of the site and the building. [2] In 1948–49 there were seven building societies, two house-building societies and one house-construction society in the district.

The motor transport societies have been formed mainly for providing employment to ex-service men[3]. There was only one such society in the district in 1948–49 with 53 members and a share capital of Rs. 18,345. It had branches at Kumbakonam, Mannargudi, Tiruvarur and Nagapattinam. It ran a workshop which undertook the repairs of not only its own vehicles but also the vehicles of local bodies and private individuals. Of the other societies there were one cartmen's society, one labour contract society, one printing press society, four better living societies, one thrift society and one lawyers' society in the district.

Besides these co-operative societies there is in Tanjore a Co-operative Institute called the Hood Co-operative Institute for training candidates seeking employment in co-operative institutions. Started in 1927 it now occupies an important place for imparting education in co-operation. The training course which it offers has been extended from nine months to eleven months since 1949–50. It also conducts short training courses for managers and secretaries of non-credit societies and junior inspectors. Besides Government aid it obtains funds from tuition fees and grants from the central banks and the State Co-operative Union. [4]

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[1] Report on the Working of Co-operative Societies for 1950, pages 125–126.
The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, Vol. I, pages 383–386.
[2] *Idem*, pages 403–435.
[3] *Idem*, pages 397–401.
G.O. No. 4091, Development, dated 4th August 1948.
[4] The Madras Co-operative Manual, 1952, page 460.
Report on the Working of the Co-operative Societies for 1950, page 14.

The Tanjore district is for administrative purposes divided into two circles, namely, the Tanjore Circle and the Kumbakonam Circle, each of which is under a Deputy Registrar of Co-operative Societies. Each of these Deputy Registrars is assisted by a number of subordinates. In 1949–50 they had under them 13 Sub-Registrars, 40 Senior Inspectors and 62 Junior Inspectors. Their chief function is that of organizing new societies and auditing and guiding the existing societies and banks. The supervision of the societies affiliated to the central banks is carried on by the supervisors employed by them and attached to the supervising unions. There were 14 such unions in the district in 1949–50, to which 700 societies were affiliated. The Deputy Registrars of this district as well as of all other districts of this State are placed under the control of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies who is the head of the department and who is assisted in his work by one or more Joint Registrars and several Deputy Registrars on special duty and other technical officers.

CHAPTER X.

WELFARE SCHEMES.

Of the various Welfare Schemes initiated by the Government in Tanjore as well as in other districts in this State, none is perhaps more comprehensive, more calculated to improve all round the condition of the rural population than what is called the Rural Welfare Scheme. The idea of reviving the corporate life of the villages which had become almost extinct under foreign rule and of making them self-sufficient in the matter of food, clothing and other necessaries and, at the same time, of inducing the villagers to take an active and intelligent interest in all affairs affecting their welfare is to be traced to Gandhiji. In formulating a constructive programme for the villages he had said : "My idea of village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village's first concern will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a reserve for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. Then, if more land is available, it will grow useful money crops, thus excluding ganja, tobacco, opium and the like. The village will maintain a village theatre, school and public hall. It will have its own water-works ensuring clean water-supply. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the co-operative basis.[1]"

As soon as the National Government came to power in 1946, they took up this programme in right earnest and formulated what is called the Firka Development Scheme or the Rural Welfare Scheme.[2] This scheme envisaged the construction of roads, the improvement of water-supply, sanitation and health, the development of agriculture, live-stock and cottage industries, the introduction of electricity, the encouragement of khadi, the provision of basic education, the formation of co-operative societies and the reorganization of the panchayats. As, however, the scheme could not be implemented in all villages at once, the Government selected for its implementation, in the first instance, 34 firkas in the various districts, each firka consisting of about 30 villages where some pioneering work had already been done by non-official agencies, where the villagers manifested enthusiasm

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[1] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, page 7.
G.O. Ms. No. 757, Food, dated 10th September 1946.
[2] G.O. No. 4591, Development, dated 14th December 1946.

for the scheme or where the general backwardness of the villages called for urgent attention[1]. In the Tanjore district they selected first the Saliamangalam Firka consisting of 30 villages and later on, two more firkas, namely, the Vedaranyam and the Talanayar firkas. [2]

The Collector of each district was placed in direct charge of the scheme in the selected firkas in his district and under him were appointed for each firka a Firka Development Officer of the rank of a Deputy Tahsildar and a few Grama Sevaks of the rank of Revenue Inspectors, each in charge of a group of five or six villages. In order to co-ordinate the work in the various firkas and to attend to the technical aspects of the scheme, a Provincial Firka Development Officer, later called the Director of Rural Welfare, of the status of a Head of a Department, was also appointed, with two Regional Firka Development Officers to assist him. And, as the essence of the scheme consisted in enlisting the co-operation of the villagers, committees consisting of officials and non-officials were constituted in each firka to implement the schemes drawn up. The drawing up of the schemes was entrusted to a State Firka Development Board formed at Madras consisting of the Heads of Departments and influential constructive workers, and this Board was assisted by a Standing Advisory Sub-Committee. Publicity and propaganda work was, at the same time, entrusted to a Central Publicity Committee set up at Madras. [3]

From the very inception of the scheme the problem of finding suitable persons to work it successfully engaged the attention of the Government. For generations the villagers had lost their initiative and had become accustomed to look to the Government for even small things which they could easily and quickly do by themselves with a little co-operation. It was no easy task to change this mentality and to make them conscious of their duties and responsibilities as citizens of the State. It demanded a great deal of patience and tact and, what is more, an ability to win the confidence of the villagers. A number of persons who had already taken part in public affairs were therefore selected as Firka Development Officers and Grama Sevaks and given special training in the principles and practice of rural reconstruction. [4]

The scheme is still young. It was initiated only towards the close of 1946 and for some time much spade work had to be done including the training of selected officers. Its achievements till 1950 (the year with which this book closes) in Tanjore

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[1] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, page 8.
[2] G.O. No. 548, Firka Development, dated 19th June 1950.
[3] *Idem*, pages 8–11.
[4] G.O. No. 548, Firka Development, dated 19th June 1950, pages 12–12a.

are therefore necessarily not striking. But a good beginning has been made and, provided the co-operation of the people is not wanting, the scheme holds out for the future great possibilities.

One of the important measures that has been initiated under the scheme is the construction of roads for linking up the villages to one another as well as for linking up the villages to the main roads leading to the towns. This provides not only better facilities for communication but also greater facilities for trade. By 1950 in the three firkas in Tanjore new roads for a length of 10 miles and 6 furlongs were formed and several existing roads were repaired; 4 footpaths were also cut and 28 culverts and one rivetment were constructed.[1]

The health of the people in the villages being the very foundation upon which all other activities depend, particular attention has been paid to the improvement of sanitation and water-supply and to the provision of medical aid. Clean drinking water is not generally available in the villages, nor are proper drains and latrines to be found in them. The digging of drinking water wells and the construction of sanitary latrines and drains have therefore been given priority. A sanitation squad has been formed in each village under the guidance of the Grama Sevaks for giving necessary advice to the villagers, for supplying cheap disinfectants, for providing sanitary latrines, dust bins, soak pits and drainage. Maternity and Child-Welfare Centres and dispensaries have also been opened. By 1950 in the three firkas in Tanjore 18 draw-wells and 17 bore-wells were sunk, and 14 latrines of the Wardha type and 25 latrines of other types were constructed. Besides this, several drains were made, insanitary pits were filled up, manure heaps were removed to places outside the dwelling localities and proper soak pits were dug. A Maternity and Child-Welfare Centre was also opened[2].

As the fundamental idea underlying the scheme is to make the villages self-sufficient in the matter of food, much attention has been paid to agriculture and irrigation. Attempts have been made to increase the productivity of lands by the supply of better seeds and manure, by the protection of crops against pests and diseases and by the use of better implements and better cattle. Agricultural implements have been distributed at half the cost price to the poor cultivators and the importance of preparing and using compost manure has been emphasized through the Grama Sevaks. Several Grow More Food concessions, such as the hiring out of pump sets, the distribution

[1] G.O. No. 518, Firka Development, dated 19th June 1950, pages 13 and 99.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 25.

[2] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 9th August 1950, pages 13–15, 19–20 and 99.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 25.

of improved seeds of paddy and chemical manures at cheap rates, the supply of iron materials like cart-tyres and the grants of interest-free loans for the purchase of seed and manure, have also been extended to the cultivators. Nor is this all. Encouragement has been given to the cultivation of subsidiary food crops like sweet potato, tapioca and vegetables. Model agricultural farms have been started in some places, while in others demonstration plots have been laid out in private fields. Efforts have been made to bring under cultivation as much waste land as possible. A village live-stock improvement scheme has been devised, the object of which is to introduce improved breeds of cattle, goats and poultry. Special steps have been taken to improve the minor irrigation works, and the investigation of some major schemes has also been undertaken. The Tanjore firkas have naturally received the benefits of all these concessions and facilities granted by the Government. In these firkas by 1950, 825 manure and compost pits were dug, 153 pits were re-made properly, and 120 acres of wet land were brought under cultivation. Irrigation facilities were given to 365 acres of land situated in Kadakadappai, Sithakadu and Alangudi villages by extending the Neivasal-Thenpathi No. 1 channel at a cost of nearly Rs. 50,000 and the remodelling of the Vadapathi branch of the Kalichapalli Channel was taken up. Three irrigation dams and two culverts were also built and the Saliamangalam firka was brought under the live-stock scheme.[1]

In the field of industries, it has been proposed to revive the cottage industries and to place them on a sound footing, especially those which would meet the basic needs of the villages. In 1946 an elaborate scheme was drawn up for the development of cottage industries in the selected firkas. The main features of this scheme were the establishment of demonstration-*cum*-training units, the reorganization of industrial and commercial museums and the provision of financial aid to cottage industries. Under this scheme, 40 training units were established in the various firkas. It was, however, soon found that the training of artisans was not so important as the production of utility articles of improved quality and accordingly a revised scheme was drawn up in 1948, by which demonstration and training units were to be transferred to non-official agencies like co-operative societies and the Government were only to assist them in procuring raw materials, in obtaining technical advice and assistance and in marketing the products. The units were to be confined to 25 firkas and to six basic trades, namely wood-work, blacksmithy, light-metal casting, sheet metal work, tanning and leather goods manufacture. But, as private agencies failed to come forward to take up the

[1] G.O. No. 65, RuralWelfare, dated 9th August 1950, pages 17–18, 101. Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 25.

demonstration-*cum*-training units, 13 out of the 40 units were, by 1950, converted into production-*cum*-training centres in the six basic trades as well as in bamboo and rattan work. None of these schemes, however, was introduced in the Tanjore firkas.[1]

Electrification of the firkas has been given priority with a view to providing power for agricultural, for industrial as well as for domestic purposes. Even where electrification schemes are not remunerative according to the departmental standards, they have been pushed through with the help of subsidies from the Government, and in this manner many of the villages have been supplied with electricity. Some of the villages in the Vedaranyam firka were supplied with electricity by 1950.[2]

As has already been stated, self-sufficiency in cloth is one of the primary objects of the scheme, and to attain this object, the Government formulated in 1946 an intensive khadi scheme and in 1949 an extensive khadi scheme. Under the intensive khadi scheme[3] which has been introduced in 7 centres, it is aimed to provide at least one charka for each family by the supply at cost price of charkas and carding and slivering equipments. In the case of the poor, payment in instalments is permitted. The spinners are encouraged to grow their own cotton and to gin, card and sliver it themselves, but where they cannot grow cotton, it is supplied to them by the authorities. A subsidy is also given to the spinners who make use of the cloth spun out of their yarn. Under the extensive khadi scheme[4] which has been introduced into 19 firkas, it is aimed to supply at concessional rates, where necessary, 1,000 charkas a year in each of the firkas. Arrangements have also been made under this scheme for supplying cotton and ginning and carding equipments and for giving subsidies to spinners who use cloth produced by their own yarn. The idea is that the extensive khadi scheme should pave the way gradually for the intensive khadi scheme. The entire khadi scheme serves to provide an ideal subsidiary occupation to the agriculturists in the off season. Having been included in the list of the Post-War Development Schemes it became eligible for financial assistance from the Government of India, and for the first three years it received such financial assistance to the extent

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[1] Rural Welfare in Madras, 1952, pages 27–29.
Administration Report of the Department of Industries and Commerce for 1947, pages 20–21.
Idem, for 1948, pages 21–23.
Idem, for 1949, pages 31–33.
Idem, for 1950, page 32.
G.O. No. 4591, Development, dated 14th December 1946.

[2] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, pages 18–19.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 25.

[3] G.O. No. 4678, Firka Development, dated 23rd December 1946.

[4] G.O. No. 477, Firka Development, dated 20th May 1949.

of Rs. 11·85 lakhs. Till 1950, the All-India Spinners' Association guided the activities of the scheme, but since then, the Association having withdrawn its men, the Government have appointed their own staff. In order to encourage khadi, the Government have ordered that it should be used for all State purposes, including local board purposes, and that all officers of the Government except those of the Police Department who have been enjoined to use uniforms should wear khadi uniforms.[1] So far as Tanjore is concerned the extensive khadi scheme has been introduced in the Saliamangalam firka and till 1950 more than 200 charkas were introduced in this firka.[2]

Education as the precursor of all progress has naturally received much attention under the scheme. The old type of education, however, which lays emphasis on learning from books, has been replaced by the new type of education, called the basic education, which lays emphasis on learning by doing. The old type of schools that exist have been, wherever possible, converted into basic schools and new basic schools have also been opened. Night schools for the benefit of adults and libraries, reading rooms, cinemas and radio sets for the benefit of all have been provided. The object is nothing less than the speedy liquidation of illiteracy and the quick dissemination of general knowledge. By 1950 in the Tanjore firkas 7 basic elementary schools, 12 night schools for adults, one reading-room, one central library and 25 branch libraries were opened. Three school buildings were also constructed and one radio set was installed.[3]

Co-operative societies which are most effective in improving rural conditions have been organized to cover most of the villages coming under the scheme. In 1950 in the Tanjore firkas there were 25 rural credit societies and 21 other types of societies covering 83 villages. A scheme for opening multi-purpose societies in some firkas has also been sanctioned, but it has not been introduced in the Tanjore firkas.[4]

The panchayat system, which is, as is well known, an ancient institution but which had fallen into decay under foreign rule, has been revived in most of the villages in the firkas, including the villages in the Tanjore firkas. The panchayats have evinced a keen interest in rural welfare work

[1] G.O. No. 135, Firka Development, dated 15th March 1948.
G.O. No. 965, Firka Development, dated 22nd October 1949.
G.O. No. 2354, Home, dated 8th June 1949.

[2] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, pages 127–131.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 26.

[3] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, pages 16 and 99.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 25.

[4] G.O. No. 3814, Development, dated 16th July 1949.
G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, pages 20, 21, 101.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, pages 25–26.

and their activities have embraced almost all the activities of the firkas. Besides panchayats, Grama Seva Sanghams have also been formed in the chief villages for mobilizing non-official support for the scheme. In 1950 in the Tanjore firkas there were 53 such sanghams.[1]

While the Rural Welfare Scheme has for its primary object the improvement of the economic condition of the people in the villages, prohibition has for its primary object the amelioration of not only the economic but also the moral condition of the people, not only in the villages, but also in the towns. Temperance reform, the forerunner of prohibition, was hailed as a blessing by all thinking persons in India from the very dawn of political consciousness. The Indian National Congress had it at heart from the very beginning. As early as 1889 the Congress welcomed the endeavours made by the British temperance leaders to reduce drunkenness in India and in 1900 it appealed to the Government " to pass measures like the Maine Liquor Law of America and Sir Witham Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill or the Local Option Act and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine[2]." From that time onwards the temperance movement gathered momentum under the impulsion of the national leaders. In Tanjore itself it was lauded in the discussions held at District Conferences early in this century[3]. The Home Rule Movement gave it a fillip, but it became a formidable force only from the time of the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat movements. In Tanjore, as we have seen, spathes of coconut trees were cut and toddy shops were burnt in 1922[4]. And everywhere the agitation was carried on by picketing before liquorshops and at auction sales and by social ostracism. All this led to immense losses of revenue to the Government. In 1921–22, for instance, the excise revenue fell from Rs. 546·46 lakhs to Rs. 486·23 lakhs, thus resulting in a loss of no less than Rs. 60·23 lakhs.[5]

The agitation entered the Legislature itself where the Government were again and again urged to pass laws for the gradual introduction of prohibition. Between 1921 and 1927 one Temperance Bill and two Local Option Bills were brought forward with a view to introducing prohibition in all local areas where the majority of the people were in favour of it. These attempts, however, failed chiefly because the Government were not prepared to forego the excise revenue before finding alternate sources of revenue, and also because the Government held that Madras had already gone far ahead of the other

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[1] G.O. No. 65, Rural Welfare, dated 1st August 1950, page 21.
Administration Report of the Rural Welfare Department for 1950, page 26.

[2] The History of the Congress by B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 1935, page 83.

[3] See page 3 (of Chapter IV) supra.

[4] See pages 5, 8 (of Chapter IV) supra.

[5] Excise and Temperance in Madras by D. N. Strathie, 1922, page 60.
G.O. No. 1103, Revenue, dated 21st July 1923.

Provinces in the field of temperance by placing as many restrictions as possible in the way of getting drink by reducing the hours, by reducing the proof gallons and by eliminating roadside liquor shops, etc.[1] But the agitation outside the Legislature still went on. In the 1930–31 Civil Disobedience Movement, large-scale picketing was launched by the Congress in Tanjore [2] as well as in other districts and the cause of prohibition was at this time not a little strengthened by the issue of two important pamphlets by Sri C. Rajagopalachari entitled the Indian Prohibition Manual in English and Ur Kattupadu in Tamil. The former dealt with all aspects of drink and its evils and stressed the need for prohibition, while the latter pointed out that the most effective way to achieve prohibition was by forming caste compacts in the villages for ostracizing all those who indulged in drinking.[3]

The British Government were throughout sceptical of the sincerity of the Congress. They thought that the whole campaign was designed to cripple their revenues and to make political capital out of the financial distress of the State. They even thought that it was a grand stunt skilfully engineered for discrediting them, for encouraging lawlessness and for holding out the hope of millennium to the masses under the Congress regime[4]. But in this they were completely mistaken. The moment Sri C. Rajagopalachari formed the first Congress Ministry in 1937, he took up prohibition with ardour and introduced it boldly by a special Act (Madras Act X of 1937) first in the Salem district and then in the Cuddapah, Chittoor and North Arcot districts.[5] Other districts would have also soon come under prohibition but for the resignation of his ministry in 1939. There is evidence to show that the measure proved a success in all the four districts. It was reported that it was " a real boon to that large class of the population who lived on the border line of want ", that it had improved their standard of living and put an end to drunken brawls and domestic quarrels, that their women, one and all, had welcomed it, and that it had on the whole led to better home life, better outlook

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[1] G.O. No. 2040, Revenue, dated 15th November 1922.
G.O. No. 1103, Revenue, dated 21st July 1923.
G.O. No. 521, Revenue, dated 19th March 1927.
G.O. No. 587, Revenue, dated 26th March 1927.
G.O. No. 1457, Revenue, dated 28th July 1927.
G.O. No. 1029, Revenue, dated 10th May 1928.

[2] See page 17 (of Chapter IV) supra.

[3] G.O. No. 126, Public (General) (Confidential), dated 21st January 1932.

[4] G.O. No. 1103, Revenue, dated 21st July 1923.
Excise and Temperance in Madras by D. N. Strathie, 1922, pages 59–62.

[5] G.O. No. 197, Legal, dated 1st October 1937.
Report on the Administration of the Excise Revenue for 1937–38, pages 18–23.
Idem for 1938–39, page 19.
Idem for 1939–40, page 19.

on life and better building up of character.[1] But, as soon as the ministry resigned, popular enthusiasm for prohibition began to wane, illicit distillation began to increase and the Adviser Government suspended the Prohibition Act in all the four districts. In 1944 the toddy shops were opened and in 1945 the arrack shops were also opened.[2] This was, however, a passing phase. When the National Government came to power in 1946, they introduced prohibition again not only in the four districts but also in all other districts, so that by 1948 the whole State went dry.[3]

In Tanjore prohibition was introduced from 1st October 1947 by extending the Prohibition Act of 1937 to that district.[4] All dealings in liquor and intoxicating drugs were prohibited, except for medicinal, scientific, industrial or such like purposes. Permits for possession and consumption of liquor were issued only in exceptional cases. They were issued to a limited number of persons accustomed to take foreign liquor, to non-proprietary clubs for sale to such of their members as held permits and to the church authorities for sacramental wine. Licences were also prescribed for the possession and sale of denatured spirits and rectified spirits, for the possession and sale, on prescription, of brandy and medicated wines by chemists, for the possession of brandy in hospitals for medicinal purposes, and for the tapping of trees for sweet toddy for the making of jaggery. Opium was issued on permits to opium addicts, but no permits were issued for ganja and bhang. The Government accepted the recommendation of the Madras Prohibition Enquiry Committee that the quantity of opium issued to addicts might be reduced annually by 20 per cent and the issue completely stopped after a period of five years by which time the addicts would have prepared themselves for absolute abstinence. This decision was given effect to from 1st October 1949. The enforcement of prohibition was entrusted to the Police Department.[5]

A series of measures were at the same time taken in the district to provide counter-attractions to drink, and employment to ex-toddy tappers. A number of tea shops and refreshment stalls were opened, first by the Government and then by private persons. Several canteens were set up by the rice mill owners

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[1] See the Excise Revenue Administration Reports for 1937–38, pages 21–22.
See the Excise Revenue Administration Reports for 1938–39, page 23.
See the Excise Revenue Administration Reports for 1939–40, page 23.

[2] Madras in 1942, page 46.
Idem in 1943, page 56.
Idem in 1944, page 33.
Idem in 1945, page 17.

[3] Madras in 1946, page 12.
Idem in 1947, page 17.
Idem in 1948, page 22.

[4] Madras in 1947, page 18.

[5] Excise Revenue Administration Report for 1937–38, pages 18–19.

for their own workers. Taluk amd village committees and District Advisory Councils were constituted to conduct propaganda for prohibition and to assist the authorities to detect offences. Grama Sanghams were formed to undertake various kinds of rural uplift work. Rural welfare officers organized all kinds of games, tournaments, recreation clubs, ballad singing parties, bhajanas, harikathas, kalakshepams, cinema shows, rural uplift schools and thrift schemes. In order to provide employment to the ex-toddy tappers, who numbered about 4,500, co-operative land colonization societies, milk supply societies, mat-weavers' societies and jaggery manufacturing societies were formed in several places. Some ex-tappers also became agricultural labourers.[1] In this manner, by 1950, all the ex-tappers of the district were absorbed in other avocations.

As may be expected, a certain amount of illicit distillation, illicit tapping and smuggling followed in the wake of prohibition. Illicit distillation which was formerly unknown in the district now made its appearance.[2] Illicit tapping on a considerable scale was, for a time, resorted to by the ex-tappers under the influence of the Communists. Smuggling of liquor was also carried on near the borders of Karaikkal. The last two types of offences were, however, suppressed by prompt action[3]. Still, in 1949–50 no less than 961 prohibition offences were committed in Tanjore. This considerable number of offences was ascribed to the waning of public enthusiasm and co-operation.[4] But, all the same, it cannot be denied that prohibition has effected a general improvement in the social and economic condition of the numerous ex-addicts and their families. It has been again and again stated that since its introduction there has been more money, more food and more clothing in their houses and less street brawls and drunken affrays especially in towns like Tanjore and Kumbakonam.[5]

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[1] See the monthly reports of the Collector of Tanjore recorded in the Government Orders.

[2] Excise Revenue Administration Report for 1947–48, page 18.

[3] G.O. No. 1818, Revenue, dated 9th July 1949, page 180.
G.O. No. 3013, Revenue, dated 28th November 1949, page 183.
G.O. No. 3020, Revenue, dated 28th November 1949—See the Collector's report.
G.O. No. 2364, Revenue, dated 7th September 1949.

[4] Administration Report of the Madras Excise and Prohibition Department for 1949–50, page 13.

[5] G.O. No.183, Revenue, dated 28th January 1948—See Tanjore Collector's report.
G.O. No.582, Revenue, dated 16th March 1948—See Tanjore Collector's report.
G.O. No.993, Revenue, dated 28th April 1948—See Tanjore Collector's report.
G.O. No. 1228, Revenue, dated 21st May 1948—See Tanjore Collector's report.
G.O. No. 1585, Revenue, dated 5th July 1948—See Tanjore Collector's report.
G.O. No. 937, Revenue, dated 6th April 1949—See Tanjore Collector's report.
Administration Report of the Madras Excise and Prohibition Department for 1949–50, page 14.

We now come to Harijan Welfare which had its origin in the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy Navroji in the Imperial Legislative Council on 16th March 1916 and which has since 1920 formed an important plank in the Congress programme. Of all the reforms urged by the Congress none was more dear to Gandhiji than the removal of the social, economic and religious inequalities of the Harijans. He called the 'Untouchables', the 'Depressed Classes' or the 'Scheduled Castes' as the Harijans, 'God's Children', a name which has since stuck to them everywhere. He made untiring efforts to remove untouchability, an evil which has been for centuries responsible for keeping down socially, morally as well as economically all the suffering millions of the Harijans. He undertook on their behalf the epic fast of 1932 which for the first time impressed in a manner not to be forgotten the importance of Harijan uplift. As soon as the Congress Ministries came to power, therefore, they introduced various measures for securing the welfare of the Harijans.

Not that the previous Government were unconcerned about the condition of the Harijans. In Madras G. F. Paddison was appointed as a Labour Commissioner as early as 1920[1] as a result of the resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council of 1916 and, on his recommendation, several steps were taken to improve their condition. Steps were taken to relieve congestion in Harijan quarters by allotting to the Harijans housesites either by assignment or by acquisition, the cost of acquisition being advanced by the Government as a loan to be recovered by instalments. Steps were also taken to provide them with sanitary amenities such as wells, pathways and burial and burning grounds. Schools were also opened for them and scholarships awarded to encourage their education. Thus in Tanjore, by 1937 on the eve of the First Congress Ministry 7,354 house-sites were acquired, 435 wells were constructed or repaired, and 164 elementary schools for boys and girls were opened. But notwithstanding all this, the Harijan uplift movement never assumed the same importance as it did under the Congress and National Governments.[2]

The credit for passing legislation for the removal of the civil and social disabilities of the Harijans belongs to the first Congress Ministry presided over by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. During the period of this Ministry two Acts called the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act (Madras Act XXI of 1938) and the Temple Entry Authorization and Indemnity Act (Madras Act XXII of 1939) were passed. The first enactment removed several disabilities of the Harijans, their disability to have

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[1] G.O. No. 748, Revenue, dated 29th March 1919.
G.O. No. 271, Revenue, dated 2nd February 1920.

[2] G.O. No. 1005, Public, dated 1st June 1937, pages 1390–91.
G.O. No. 1980, Public Works and Labour, dated 8th September 1938.
(Figures furnished by the Director of Harijan Welfare, Madras).

access to public streams, rivers, wells, tanks, pathways, sanitary conveniences and means of transport, as also their disability to be appointed to public offices.[1] The second enactment indemnified and protected officers of the Government, trustees, etc., of the Sri Meenakshi Sundareswarar Temple in Madurai as well as six other temples, including the Sri Brahadeswarar Temple in Tanjore, against legal action for having permitted the Harijans to enter those temples and offer worship and, at the same time, permitted the trustees of other temples also to throw open the temples to the Harijans provided the worshippers were not opposed to the measure.[2] These two Acts were further modified and amplified by three more Acts passed by the National Government in 1947 and 1949 (Madras Act XI of 1947, Madras Act V of 1947 and Madras Act XIII of 1949). The first of these Acts prohibited all discrimination against the Harijans in secular institutions like refreshment rooms, hotels, boarding and lodging houses, laundries, hair-dressing saloons, etc., and forbade all dealers from refusing to sell to the Harijans any goods kept for sale.[3] The second Act which repealed the earlier Act of 1938 conferred on the Harijans the right of entering any temple which is open to the general Hindu public and to offer worship in the same manner and to the same extent as other classes of Hindus.[4] And the third Act enabled the Harijans even to enter and offer worship in temples meant for special communities.[5] The Constitution of India which was soon afterwards passed, gave even greater facilities to the Harijans. It declared that the educational and economic interests of the Harijans (the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) should be promoted with special care and that the Harijans should be protected from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. It also reserved seats for the Harijans in the Legislature for a period of ten years, gave them special preference in the matter of appointments to services and provided for the appointment of a special officer to look after their welfare.[6] It is needless to say that the Harijans of Tanjore enjoy all these benefits granted by these Acts and the Constitution.

Nor is this all. As soon as the National Government came to power in 1946 they set apart one crore of rupees as a special fund for ameliorative work among the Harijans (in addition to the expenditure incurred from General Revenues) and appointed a State Harijan Welfare Committee for formulating a Five-Year Plan and acting as a standing advisory

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[1] G.O. Nos. 227–229, Legal, dated 21st October 1937.
G.O. Nos. 43, Legal, dated 3rd February 1939.

[2] G.O. Nos. 224, Legal, dated 11th July 1939.
G.O. Nos. 293, Legal, dated 11th September 1939.

[3] G.O. Nos. 2896, Development, dated 4th July 1947.

[4] G.O. Nos. 53, Legal, dated 13th May 1947.

[5] G.O. Nos. 664, Firka Development, dated 20th July 1949.

[6] Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951, pages 32–33.

committee on all questions connected with Harijan welfare work.[1] Since then, a separate department called the Harijan Welfare Department, under a Director of Harijan Welfare, has been organized.[2] The Collectors of the districts are primarily responsible for the work of the department in the districts and they are assisted by the District Harijan Welfare Officers. The Director of Harijan Welfare, however, co-ordinates the activities of the Collectors and formulates and controls the implementation of the various measures for Harijan Welfare.[3]

These measures, in the main, consist of the provision of house-sites, the grant of special educational facilities, the provision of water-supply and sanitary amenities and the assignment of lands for cultivation. The chief difficulty of the Harijans is that they do not generally own the houses or huts in which they live and even where they own a hut the land seldom belongs to them. They are thus liable to be evicted from their huts at any time by unscrupulous landlords. They have therefore been given house-sites on suitable vacant lands belonging to the Government and, where no such lands are available, private lands have been acquired under the Land Acquisition Act and distributed to them. Formerly the cost of the sites was recovered from them, but from 1949 sites have been given free of cost to them, except in cases where they can afford to pay for them. Each family is assigned 3 cents in wet areas and 5 cents in dry areas exclusive of the land required for common places like streets, lanes and pathways. Where they have already built houses on Government poramboke lands, such lands, if unobjectionable, have been assigned to them, and if objectionable, alternate sites have been allotted to them. In the Tanjore district they were mostly occupying manaicuts belonging to their landlords and owing to the strained feelings existing between them and their landlords, they were in danger of being evicted at any time. The Government have therefore taken urgent steps to provide house-sites to them by granting them poramboke lands or by acquiring and assigning to them private lands. For this purpose in 1950–51 a sum of rupees five lakhs has been sanctioned and a special staff has been appointed.[4] It may be stated here that from the commencement of the Harijan Welfare operations in Tanjore down to 1950–51 no less than 3,699 house-sites were assigned to the Harijans on Government lands and no less than 9,259 house-sites were assigned to them on lands acquired from private persons.[5]

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1 Harijan Welfare in Madras State 1951, pages 26–27.
G.O. No. 2628, Development, dated 16th June 1947.
G.O. No. 199, Finance, dated 25th March 1947.

2 Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951, pages 4, 28–29.

3 *Idem*, pages 29–30.

4 *Idem* pages 15–17.

5 Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950–51, pages 42, 47.

The education of the Harijans which has been hitherto more or less neglected has, in recent times, been fostered in various ways. The policy of the Government has been to get the Harijan pupils admitted into the existing schools and to open special schools for them only in exceptional cases. The authorities of the private schools were formerly compelled to take in Harijan pupils on the threat of withdrawal of grants, but since the passing of the Civil Disabilities Act of 1947 Harijan pupils have equal rights with other pupils for admission into all educational institutions. Ten per cent of the seats in all recognized secondary and training schools and all Arts and Professional Colleges have also been reserved for them and a number of special schools too have been opened for them.[1] In 1950–51 there were 153 schools for the Harijans and eligible communities in the Tanjore district with 296 teachers and 10,727 boys and girls.[2] In these schools, in Tanjore as elsewhere, mid-day meals have been supplied free to children. As for fees, education in all elementary and secondary schools, whether special, public or private, has been imparted free to all Harijan pupils whatever be the income of their parents. In the case of high schools, however, the full concession fee has been allowed only where the income of the parents does not exceed Rs. 1,200 per annum; and in the case of colleges only if the annual income does not exceed Rs. 1,500. This is not all. Poverty certificates for fee concessions which were formerly required to be produced from Government officials are not now insisted upon. Many scholarships, including residential scholarships, have been offered to Harijan students in elementary and secondary schools as well as in colleges.[3] In 1950–51, in Tanjore, 587 non-residential scholarships of the value of Rs. 7,215 were given to Harijan students studying in non-Harijan schools, besides several residential scholarships to those studying in colleges and other educational institutions.[4] Full exemption from the payment of examination fees has also been granted to Harijan students in the case of all Government examinations, and in the case of University examinations whenever half exemption is granted, the Government have made grants to the students to meet the other half. Several Government hostels for Harijan students have likewise been provided and where private hostels for such students exist, they have been subsidized by the Government.[5] In 1950–51, in Tanjore, there were 13 private hostels for the Harijans subsidized by the Government. Of these the Rajam's Hostel

[1] Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951, pages 7–9.

[2] Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950–51, pages 63, 65, 81, 83.

[3] Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951, pages 9–13.

[4] Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950–1951, page 10.

[5] Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951, pages 13–15.

at Orathur was the largest ; it had 75 boarders and it received a subsidy of Rs. 11,250.[1]

In regard to the provision of water-supply and sanitation to the Harijans the Collectors of the districts have been authorized to sanction a non-recurring expenditure up to a limit of Rs. 4,500 in each case for the construction of wells, tanks, pathways, latrines, levelling of house-sites, etc., and the Director of Harijan Welfare has been empowered to sanction a similar expenditure up to a limit of Rs. 7,500.[2] Up to 1950–51, in the Tanjore district, 616 wells and 2 tanks were constructed at a cost of Rs. 1,80,943.[3]

A liberal policy has been pursued in the matter of assignment of lands to the Harijans for cultivation purposes. A fair proportion of the waste lands in each village is reserved for them for free assignment. So also is reserved for them a good portion of the large blocks of lands such as unreserved forests, unassessed waste lands and porambokes whenever they are transferred to the head of assessed lands. Even in the case of valuable lands, like wet lands which are generally sold in public auction to the highest bidders, a concession has been shown to the Harijans. Such lands are sold to them privately at a fair market price and the price collected in easy instalments. Besides this, large blocks of lands are also assigned to land colonization co-operative societies consisting mostly of the Harijans.[4] Information about these societies in the Tanjore district has already been given in the chapter on co-operation. As to the reservation and assignment of lands in the district, 2,698 acres were reserved up to 1950–51 and out of these 926 acres were assigned to them.[5]

As has been stated, special preference is shown to the Harijans in the matter of appointments to public services. They are considered to possess minimum general educational qualification even if they obtain a lesser number of marks than those prescribed for others in the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Examination. They are exempted from paying the prescribed fees when they sit for competitive examinations conducted by the Madras Public Service Commission, provided they have passed the Intermediate Examination. They are also exempted from the age limits prescribed in the service rules for appointments under certain conditions. In deserving cases they are even given special preference in the matter of appointments by the relaxation of service rules, if necessary.[6]

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[1] Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950–51, page 32.

[2] Harijan Welfare in Madras State, 1951, pages 17–18.

[3] Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950–51, page 92.

[4] Harijan Welfare in the Madras State, 1951, pages 18–20.

[5] Administration Report of the Harijan Welfare Department for 1950–51, page 94.

[6] Harijan Welfare in the Madras State, 1951, pages 24–26.

These are the various ways by which the Government have endeavoured to remove the social disabilities of the Harijans and to improve their economic condition. But the Government alone can by no means solve this vast and age-long problem. A change of heart among all the caste Hindus is absolutely necessary before the Harijans can take their rightful place as equal members of society. In socio-religious matters like this, legislation and executive action can only pave the way, but the goal can be reached only with the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the people.

Industrial labour welfare, to which we now turn and which nowadays causes not a little anxiety to all Governments owing to the increasing prevalence of industrial strikes, has had a history of more than seventy years in India. The idea began undoubtedly as a humanitarian reform, but it gradually assumed a political complexion until today it has become one of the most crucial problems confronting all States. The Indian Factories Act (India Act XV of 1881) was passed in 1881 for regulating the employment of children in big factories and for providing fencing for machinery for protecting the workers against injury. It was amended in 1891 for bettering the working conditions of children as well as women and for bringing in smaller factories also under its scope. In 1911 another Act was passed which reduced the hours of work alike in the case of men, women and children and made provision for their health and safety. Then came the amending Acts of 1922, 1923 and 1926 and the comprehensive Act of 1934 (India Act XXV of 1934) which was based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. The last Act divided the factories into seasonal and non-seasonal factories, brought in many more small factories under its scope, regulated the hours of work of all workers and required the big factories to provide rest sheds and creches. But even this Act was soon found to be inadequate. It was amended in 1935, 1936, 1937, 1940, 1941, 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947 and eventually in 1948 it was repealed and replaced by a new Act (India Act LXIII of 1948) by the National Government, based on the standards set by the International Labour Organization. The 1948 Act which is now in force includes many progressive features. It provides for the licensing and registration of all factories, including non-power factories employing 20 or more persons and power factories employing 10 or more persons. It abolishes the distinction between seasonal and non-seasonal factories and shifts the entire responsibility for the fencing and guarding of machinery on to the factory owners. It prescribes standards for light, ventilation and temperature, prohibits the employment of children below 14 years, reduces the hours of work of young persons to 4½ hours a day with a spread over of 5 hours,

regulates the hours of work of adults to 9 hours a day or 48 hours a week, provides for the payment of overtime wages to workers, imposes special precautions for their protection and insists upon the provision of sitting facilities, spittoons, latrines, good drinking water, first aid facilities, canteens, rest sheds and creches and the appointment of special welfare officers in all factories employing 500 or more workers.[1] In 1949 this Act was applicable to no less than 287 factories in the Tanjore district, of which the most numerous were the rice mills which numbered 168. Among other factories to which the Act was applicable in Tanjore were coach building and motor car workshops, general engineering works, oil mills, tobacco factories, carpentry and cabinet making concerns and printing presses. The total number of workers employed in all these factories amounted to 6,014, the rice mills alone having employed as many as 3,078 workers.[2]

Besides the Factories Act the Government have enacted several laws aiming at the social welfare and security of the workers and the employees. The earliest of these laws was the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 which assured the disabled workers and the dependants of the workers who sustained injuries and died in the course of their work, the payment of monetary compensation. This Act was amended in 1929 and 1933 so as to extend its benefits to certain additional classes of workers whose occupations were of a hazardous nature. The Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926 (India Act XVI of 1926) extended the benefits of trade unions to the workers. This Act was amended in 1928 and 1942. The number of registered trade unions in the Tanjore district is 11 and the membership in them is 2,541. The Payment of Wages Act of 1936 (India Act IV of 1936) ensures prompt and regular payment of wages to the workers in factories and other concerns whose wages and salaries average below Rs. 200 per month. The Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act of 1946 (India Act XX of 1946) requires the employer of every individual establishment in which one hundred and more workers are employed to submit to the certifying officer, for certification, draft standing orders proposed for adoption in his industrial establishment. The certifying officer sees that the draft standing orders contain provisions relating to the terms of service for the workers in conformity with the model standing orders framed by the State Government under the Act. He also gives the employer and the trade union of the workers or their representatives an opportunity of being heard before certifying the draft standing orders. The number of undertakings in the Tanjore District which have certified Standing Orders is 2. The Industrial Disputes

[1] Labour Welfare in Madras State, 1952, pages 9–15.
[2] Report on the working of the Factories Act in Madras, 1949, pages 4–7.

Act, 1947 (Act XIV of 1947) provides for the investigation and settlement of industrial disputes and prohibits strikes and lockouts in Public Utility Services without due notice. The Conciliation Officers appointed under this Act try to settle the industrial disputes arising in their respective jurisdiction and disputes which are not settled are in deserving cases referred by the Government to Industrial Tribunals for adjudication. The Industrial Disputes (Appellate Tribunal) Act of 1950 provides for an appeal to the Labour Appellate Tribunal against the award or decision of an Industrial Tribunal. The Minimum Wages Act of 1948 (India Act XI of 1948) requires the fixation of minimum wages in certain employments where "sweated labour is most prevalent or where there is big chance of exploitation of labour." The provisions of this Act apply to workers employed in industries specified in the schedule appended to it, provided that there are not less than 1,000 workers in such employment in the State taken as a whole. So far, minimum rates of wages have been fixed for industries like oil mills, rice mills, dhall mills and flour mills, tobacco (including beedi) making concerns, tanneries and leather manufactories. The Employees' State Insurance Act of 1948 (India Act XXIV of 1948) provides sickness benefit, maternity benefit, disablement benefit, dependants' benefit and medical benefit to the workers. The Madras Maternity Benefit Act of 1935 (Madras Act VI of 1935) prohibits the employment of women in factories for three weeks before and four weeks after confinement and provides for the payment of maternity benefit to them.[1] And finally, the Madras Shops and Establishments Act of 1947 (Madras Act XXXVI of 1947)[2] which applies to all shops, restaurants, hotels, theatres and commercial establishments in Madras City as well as in all municipalities and major panchayats in the State, irrespective of the number of persons employed, provides several benefits to the employees more or less similar to the benefits provided to the workers under the Factories Act. Under this Act adults are not allowed to work for more than 8 hours a day and 48 hours a week, young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 years are not allowed to work for more than 7 hours a day and 42 hours a week and children below 14 years are prohibited from working in any establishment. Besides this, all employees are provided a weekly holiday with wages and allowed 12 days annual leave, 12 days casual leave and 12 days sick leave with pay each year. This Act also, to some extent, ensures security of service by conferring on any dismissed employee the right to appeal to the appellate authority mentioned in the Act, whose decision shall be final. It is not possible to give any statistics illustrating the benefits conferred by these various Acts in

[1] G.O. No. 123, Law (Legislative), dated 13th March 1935.
[2] G.O. No. 989, Development, dated 1st March 1948.

the Tanjore district; but it is needless to say that all those benefits are being shared by the workers and employees in Tanjore as in other districts.[1]

All these acts are now administered by the Labour Department. Originally the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Madras City and the District Magistrates in the districts functioned as Inspectors of Factories. In 1900 an Inspector of Factories was appointed to relieve the Deputy Commissioner of Police of the work connected with the Factories Act. In 1914, in order to assist him in inspecting the factories in the State, an Assistant Inspector of Factories was appointed. In 1920, as has been seen already, a Labour Commissioner was appointed. He looked after not only Harijan Welfare work but also industrial labour welfare work and took upon himself the supervisory duties till then exercised by the Board of Revenue. He became also the Chief Inspector of Factories. In the subsequent years the Department underwent several changes.[2] In 1950 it consisted of one Commissioner of Labour and Chief Inspector of Factories, two Deputy Chief Inspectors of Factories, one Deputy Commissioner of Labour, one Assistant Commissioner of Labour, three Inspectresses of Factories, 22 Inspectors of Factories, 13 Labour Conciliation Officers and a large number of Assistant Inspectors of Labour and Factories. There were also four Industrial Tribunals in the State constituted under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. The Labour Conciliation Officer at Tiruchirappalli had jurisdiction over Tanjore district. There was a separate Inspector of Factories at Tanjore.

One of the important welfare schemes undertaken by the Government is the Women's Welfare Scheme. This scheme had its origin in the Women's Auxiliary A.R.P. Corps started in 1941 during the Second World War for instructing illiterate and ignorant women in air raid precautions. In 1945, after the cessation of the War, this corps was reconstituted to undertake general social welfare work among women and its name was changed to Indian Women's Civic Corps. It had a central organization and centres both in the City and in the districts and it did useful work in slums by holding classes in cooking, knitting and handicrafts, by giving talks on various subjects connected with women's welfare and by organizing excursions and undertaking similar activities intended to make homes brighter. As soon as the National Government came to power, they decided to utilize this useful organization for carrying on systematic social work among women on a wider scale. In 1948 they constituted it into a separate department called the Women's Welfare Department with a Women's

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[1] Labour Welfare in Madras State, 1952, pages 16–23.
[2] *Idem*, pages 24–26.

Welfare Officer as its head and a number of Assistant Women's Welfare Officers and Women's Welfare Organizers in the districts.[1] In 1950, it had one Assistant Women's Welfare Officer and six Women's Welfare Organizers in the Tanjore district.

The Department aims at the social, economic and cultural improvement of the women at large and endeavours to achieve these aims by providing for field work, maternity welfare, service homes and industrial training. Field work consists of regular house to house visit by trained welfare organizers for advising and assisting women in matters like health, hygiene, maternity, child care, nutrition, cooking, gardening, and means of earning supplementary income by poultry farming, handicrafts, etc. It also consists of inducing women to take an active part in community centres organized for the free mingling of women of all classes, for providing recreation like indoor and outdoor games for them and for training such of them as need training, in house crafts and cottage industries like spinning, weaving, tailoring, etc. It likewise consists of holding pre-basic classes for children aged between 2 and 7 years and of helping destitute women by securing admission for them in the Service Home set up at Madras and, after they are trained and discharged from this Home, in finding useful employment for them. Each welfare organizer is in charge of 3 centres in each branch and most of these branches are located in the villages. Of the three centres in each branch, one is normally a model centre provided with a reading-room, an information bureau, a show-room, a sales depot, a balavadi section, a maternity and health clinic and facilities for games and practical demonstration in handicrafts. In the Tanjore district, in 1950, there were altogether 4 branches, and 15 centres situated 6 in villages and 9 in towns. Some of these branches rendered assistance in ameliorative work connected with prohibition by arranging for Kummi, K[illegible]attam, etc.[2]

Maternity welfare is sought to be provided for by appointing a trained midwife in each selected village branch. The midwives are trained in social work as well and are expected to work in co-operation with the welfare organizers. It is hoped to provide in due course one midwife for each rural branch.

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[1] Madras in 1949, Part I, pages 144–145.
Women's Welfare in Madras State, 1952, page 3.
Handbook of Information issued by the Department of Women's Welfare, 1952, pages 3—4.

G.O. No. 2921, Public, dated 19th September 1947.
G.O. No. 3376, Public, dated 13th November 1947.
[2] G.O. No. 1228, Revenue, dated 21st May 1948.
G.O. No. 1585, Revenue, dated 5th July 1948.
G.O. No. 2052, Revenue, dated 30th August 1948.

As to Service Homes there were two homes in 1950 and they were situated in Madras and at Gandhigram. It was, however, proposed to start more homes in the districts. The Homes are intended for helping destitute women to re-establish themselves and to lead respectable lives. They take in women with children also where necessary. Whenever the welfare organizers find deserving cases of destitute women, they recommend them for admission into the Home ; and here they are maintained free, educated up to the middle school standard, and trained as teachers, house-keepers, balasevikas and midwives. They are also trained in handicrafts like spinning, weaving, tailoring, basketry and rattan work, printing and dyeing, paper-making and soap-making. After they are so trained, they are either absorbed in the field staff or are assisted to start life independently. Besides the Service Home, there is also an Industrial School for Women at Madras in which a one year course of training in cutting and tailoring, weaving of saree lace borders, ribbon and gota and making of glass beads and bangles, is provided to women who, though not destitute, are poor and are anxious to learn a trade and earn an independent livelihood.

The destitute and poor women of Tanjore, as of other districts, have naturally availed themselves of the facilities provided by the Home and the Industrial School. For women who have received a limited education and who are anxious to pursue their studies further under conditions suited to their daily occupations in life, there is a Rural College at Tanjore. This college which was formerly under the Education Department was in 1950 transferred to the Women's Welfare Department. It is in charge of the Assistant Women's Welfare Officer, Tanjore, and it offers a two years course on subjects like history, geography, economics, co-operation, political science, sanitation, everyday science, food, nutrition, clothing, home craft, mother craft, and care of the pre-school child. Instruction is given in Tamil through lectures delivered by lecturers from colleges, teachers from high schools and training schools, lawyers, doctors and agricultural demonstrators. There were 18 women studying in this college in 1950–1951.[1]

Women's Welfare work being a new and special kind of activity, great attention is paid to the selection of the right type of workers and to the training imparted to them. Equal attention is paid to propaganda by bringing out a journal called the Women's Welfare Journal.[2]

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[1] Report on Public Instruction in Madras for 1950–1951, pages 41–42.
G.O. No. 1791, Public (Political), dated 6th April 1950.

[2] See Women's Welfare in Madras State, 1952 ; and Handbook of Information issued by the Department of Women's Welfare, 1952.

While the Women's Welfare Scheme is of very recent origin, electrification of urban and rural areas, which is another welfare scheme, is of some years standing. Madras City began to receive electricity through a private undertaking as early as 1908; Ootacamund received it through another private undertaking in 1924; but the districts began to receive it in a large measure only after the Electricity Department was organized in 1927 and the Pykara, the Mettur and the Papanasam Hydro-Electric Schemes were completed in 1933, 1937 and 1941 respectively. The credit for initiating an active policy for developing the power resources of the State goes to Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar who, as a Member of the Executive Council, did much to organize the Electricity Department and to start the Pykara Scheme. And the credit of pushing through all the three schemes successfully belongs to Sir Henry Howard, the first Chief Engineer for Electricity. Since then the National Government have undertaken several new schemes. They have acquired and nationalized the Madras City electric supply undertaking and have sanctioned a Five-Year Plan 1946–1951 for power development in the State. Under this plan, they have connected the Madras Thermal Station to the Mettur Hydro Station and this has resulted in a flexible system of operation which has enabled the surplus power of Mettur during irrigation period to be utilized in Madras and this has in its turn resulted in the saving of coal and thermal power and the overcoming of the deficit in the hydro system during non-irrigation season. They have undertaken the Moyar Scheme to meet the growing power needs of the Mettur System, especially in the Salem, Tiruchirappalli and Tanjore districts. They have undertaken the Pykara III Stage Extensions to supply additional power to the Malabar, Nilgiris and Coimbatore districts. They have undertaken the Papanasam II Stage Extensions and built a thermal station at Samayanallur near Madurai. Nor is this all. They have entered into an agreement with the Mysore State for supplying power to South Kanara from their Jog system. They have reached an agreement with the Travancore-Cochin Union for developing the Periyar Scheme. And they have planned to undertake the Kundah Hydro-Electric Scheme in the Nilgiris.[1] More recently, the lignite or brown coal has been located at Neiveli in the South Arcot district and offers very good possibilities of power generation with a large power station located at Neiveli and this is likely to meet the demand of the State in conjunction with Periyar and Kundah for some years to come.

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[1] Madras in 1950, pages 130–131.

Projects in Progress (Irrigation and Electricity Schemes in Madras State), 1950, pages 22–36.

Post-War Reconstruction and Development Schemes of the Government of Madras, 1945, pages 11–14, 17–18, and 158–159.

So far as the Tanjore district is concerned, even before the Pykara and the Mettur Hydro Electric-Schemes were completed, Tanjore and Kumbakonam towns had begun to produce electricity on a small scale with the help of oil engines and to distribute it to the consumers. In Tanjore this was done by the Municipality itself from 1929–1930,[1] while in Kumbakonam it was done by a private company from 1932.[2] The Pykara and later the Mettur Schemes began to supply power to these towns, as soon as they were completed and transmission lines were extended to these schemes. The hydro-electric supply was later extended to Nagapattinam, Tiruvarur and Papanasam through private companies engaged in distributing the bulk power purchased from the State hydro-grid. Since then the field of supply has been rapidly widened. By the end of 1949–1950 it embraced no less than 235 towns and villages[3] in the Tanjore district. As is well known, electricity is now indispensable not only for domestic purposes but also for industrial and agricultural purposes. In 1949–50, the district consumed 3·28 million units for domestic purposes, 7·48 million units for industrial purposes, 0·14 million units for agricultural purposes, 1·91 million units for commercial lighting and power, 1·30 million units for public lighting and 0·96 million units for miscellaneous purposes totalling 15·07 million units.

The power distribution in this district, as in most of the other districts, is still in the hands of local bodies or private companies. Legislation has, however, been passed by the National Government in 1949 (Madras Act XLIII of 1949) to enable the Government to acquire on payment of compensation all private undertakings in the State. This has been done with the object of improving and extending electric supply, especially in rural areas.[4]

A welfare scheme which came directly in the wake of electricity was the Rural Broadcasting and Community Listening Scheme. In 1933 the Government appointed a special Radio Expert to devise a provincial broadcasting system and he suggested the installation of a number of medium or long wave stations linked with a short wave central station at Madras. But, as the Government of India desired to retain control over all transmitting stations in their own hands and installed the All-India Radio Stations at Madras and Tiruchirappalli (1938), the Madras Government turned

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[1] G.O. No. 2362, Public Works and Labour, dated 16th September 1931.

[2] G.O. No. 1595, Public Works and Labour, dated 28th July 1932.

[3] Five Years Progress, Tanjore District (in Tamil), 1951, pages 25, 89.
G.O. No. 2874, P. W., dated 31st July 1950—See the Administration Report for 1949–1950.
G.O. No. 2412, P. W., dated 27th June 1949—See the Administration Report for 1948–1949.

[4] G.O. No. 19, Legal, dated 23rd January 1950.

their attention solely to the provision of facilities for broad casting and community listening. They aimed at providing entertainment to the rural population, at imparting instruction to them in matters affecting their welfare and at disseminating among them news on current events and information on governmental activities ; and in order to achieve these aims a new department called the State Broadcasting Department was organized. This department has rapidly expanded its activities by installing community receiving sets, public address systems and wireless broadcasting system in various rural centres and municipalities and by making suitable arrangements for their field maintenance. Wherever the radio sets have been installed-and they have been installed in many places, the-people can listen to the programmes broadcast by the All-India Radio, including special rural programmes on subjects like public health, sanitation, agriculture, prohibition, education, etc. These sets are generally worked for about two hours a day.

Tanjore was one of the first districts to receive this amenity. In 1938, in the very year of the inception of the scheme, 3 sets were installed by the Broadcasting Department at Tiruvaiyar, Nannilam and Kuttalam. By 1949–50, the department had installed 41 sets in the various big villages and small towns in the district. There were also then 22 sets in the 6 municipal towns installed by the municipalities themselves, 1 set at the District Board High School at Rajamadam and 1 set at the Saliamangalam prohibition centre.[1]

The only other important welfare measures undertaken by the Government are the measures introduced by them for the proper upkeep and maintenance of the hundreds of temples, maths and other religious institutions existing in this State. These have a history going back to a period of more than a century. As early as 1817 a Regulation (Regulation VII of 1817), was passed for enabling the Board of Revenue and, through it, the Collectors of the various districts to exercise control over all endowments in land or money belonging to the religious institutions. In 1841, however, the Government divested themselves of this responsibility and handed over the management to the trustees .[2] This having led to mismanagement and complaints, in 1863, they passed an amending Act (Madras Act XX of 1863) to prevent abuses. But still the abuses continued unabated, and, as a result, various attempts were made between 1870 and 1920 to bring in further legislation. All these attempts, however, proved a failure. It was only in 1925 that an Act called the Hindu Religious Endowments Act (Madras Act I of 1925) was passed under which it became

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[1] Madras in 1950, pages 120–122. The Annual Administration Reports of the State Broadcasting Department from 1938 to 1950.

[2] Revenue Consultation Nos. 19–24, dated 15th June 1841.

possible to exercise some effective control over the endowments through the Hindu Religious Endowments Board. But even this arrangement was soon found to be unsatisfactory. Complaints of mismanagement and inefficient supervision continued to pour in until at last the First Congress Ministry resolved to take over the direct administration of the endowments. Before, however, it could do so, it resigned office [1] and it was left to the National Government to take this important step. This they did in 1951 by enacting a separate Act (Madras Act XIX of 1951).

The number of religious endowments in Tanjore have always been very large. In 1948–49 there were no less than 945 major institutions under the direct jurisdiction of two Assistant Commissioners of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board.[2] All these institutions have now directly come under the Government control. A separate Department called the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration) Department has now been set up consisting of a Commissioner, a Deputy Commissioner and a number of Assistant Commissioners. Tanjore has two Assistant Commissioners to look after the endowments, one for the West Tanjore with headquarters at Tanjore and the other for East Tanjore with headquarters at Nagapattinam.

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1 G.O. No. 2540, P.H. (Confidential), dated 10th June 1940.

2 G.O. No. 1001, Firka Development, dated 4th November 1949—See page 21 of the Administration Report.

CHAPTER XI.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Tanjore being a highly cultivated and thickly populated district has naturally an extensive system of communications like roads, railways and post and telegraph offices. But though it is well supplied with roads, the condition of many of them is far from satisfactory. For, nature has placed it at a great disadvantage in regard to road-making materials. The delta is mostly alluvial, its soil clayey and water-logged for a large part of the year and the only road-making materials available are laterite gravel and kunkur and these too are available only at a few places. Laterite gravel is quarried at Vallam and Arantangi and kunkur is found in small quantities in the beds of the streams in the Pattukkottai taluk. No good and all-weather roads can be made with these materials. Granite metal which is necessary for the making of good roads that can stand the wear and tear of traffic was formerly imported even from Ceylon and is nowadays imported from Tiruchirappalli. No wonder therefore that the cost of making good roads in the district is very high and that the condition of many of the roads leaves much to be desired. [1]

In olden days the roads were not only badly made but badly aligned. Almost all of them were made of mud and sand ; the mud made the surface hard in summer and slushy in the rainy season, while the sand, which alone made the mud passable in the monsoon, made a heavy draught in summer. Almost all of them were also tortuous, following, as they did, the courses of old embankments. A gravel road was, in those days, considered to be a very good road, as it was decidedly superior to the mud roads. But then, it must be remembered, the times were different : fast moving traffic like motor vehicles were unknown , even carts were rare and travelling was mostly done on palankeens. A change, however, came about the middle of the last century. A scheme of road-making and maintenance was then started, chiefly with the object of providing the means of transporting salt from the coast to the interior and grain from the interior to the coast and in due course considerable progress was made in constructing new roads, in repairing old roads and in building bridges

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[1] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XLVII ; Report on the District Roads for 1855–56, page 69.
Gaztteer of the Taujore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 137.
G.O. No. 1026, L. & M., dated 25th March 1931.
G.O. No. 2321, Local Self Government, L. & M. dated 18th June 1935.
G.O. No. 5258, Local Self Government, dated 4th December 1936.
G.O. No. 2403, Local Self-Government, dated 24th June 1937.
G.O. No. 803, L. A., dated 8th March 1938.

and culverts. The work was by no means easy. There was the difficulty of procuring suitable road-making materials; there was the difficulty of obtaining labour, since the district being highly agricultural, most of the labour was absorbed by agriculture; there was the difficulty of bridging innumerable rivers and irrigation canals; and, finally, there was the difficulty of raising the level of the land for road-making consequent on the occurrence of periodical floods in the district.[1] All these difficulties still exist and hamper progress in road consstruction.

Nevertheless, considerable progress in road-making has been made in the district during the last hundred years. In 1856 there were only four main roads, the first from the Grand Anicut to the Anaikkaranchatram, the second from Tanjore to the Lower Anicut, the third from Tanjore to Nagapattinam and the fourth from Kumbakonam to Tranquebar; and the total length of all the roads in the district was only about 900 miles[2]. But in 1950–51, for instance, the total mileage of roads was 3,356 comprising 105 miles of provincial highways, 946 miles of major district roads, 640 miles of other district roads, 1,004 miles of village roads, 408 miles of Public Works Department roads and 253 miles of municipal roads.[3] Again, in 1856 the amount spent upon the roads was Rs. 1,56,917[4]; but in 1950–51 it was more than 37 lakhs of rupees.[5] As to the condition of the roads at present, the Provincial Highways and the Public Works Department roads are maintained in fair condition, so also are maintained in more or less fair condition the District Board roads in the Tanjore, Papanasam, Kumbakonam, Sirkali, Pattukkottai and Arantangi taluks; but the District Board roads in the Nagapattinam, Mannargudi, Mayuram and portions of Tiruthuraipundi taluks are far from satisfactory.[6] Major roads covering more than 1,000 miles are now metalled with granite.[7] But granite alone is nowadays not considered enough for road-making. Granite; being harder and tougher, does not adhere well with gravel, the usual binding material. In summer the metalled surface unravels badly and loose metal floats on the surface, the binding gravel having been blown

[1] Selection from the Records of the Madras Government No. XLVII; Report on the District Roads for 1855–56, pages 66–73.
Idem, No. XXX Report for 1854, page 61.
Idem, No. VIII Report for 1853, pages 70–71.
G.O. No. 5258, Local Self-Government, dated 4th December 1936.

[2] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government No. XLVII; Report on the District Roads for 1855–56, pages 69–71.

[3] Administration Report of the Highways Department for 1950–51, G.O. No. 4768, Public Works (Highways), dated 20th November 1952.

[4] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government No. XLVII; Report on the District Roads for 1855–56, page 66.

[5] G.O. No. 4768, Public Works (Highways), dated 20th November 1952.

[6] 1951 Census Handbook—Tanjore District, pages 5–6.

[7] Report on the Administration of the Motor Vehicles Act and the Madras Traffic Rules for 1950, page 10.

away by the winds. The best binding material for granite is tar or bitumen or asphalt, but all of these are very costly and cannot therefore be extensively used for road-making.[1] For this reason and for want of granite in the district, most of the roads still continue to remain as gravel and mud roads and their condition continues to remain unsatisfactory. At the same time it must be said that the main roads are metalled and sufficiently broad, that avenue trees exist over large stretches of roads and that planting of more trees by villagers on what is called the tree tax system has been encouraged.[2]

Turning to the administrative history, in the days of the East India Company the construction and maintenance of roads was attended to by three different agencies, the Maramath Department of the Board of Revenue, the Trunk Road Department and the Engineering Department of the Military Board. The Engineering Department looked after the roads and bridges in Madras City and in all the cantonments; the Trunk Road Department looked after all trunk roads; while the Maramath Department looked after all other roads. In 1858 these three departments were abolished and the Public Works Department was for the first time organized with the Chief Engineer at the head and several District Engineers below him. This department looked after all classes of roads till 1879–80, when it handed over the management of most of the roads to the local bodies which had come into existence a few years earlier (1871) and which had been empowered to raise a road cess for the construction and maintenance of roads.[3] The District Boards and the Municipalities continued to maintain most of the roads till 1946, when again a new department called the Highways Department took over from them the management of several of the important roads.

The origin of this department arose under peculiar circumstances. The outbreak of the Second World War showed the utter inadequacy of the roads for linking up strategic points as well as the most unsatisfactory condition of several of the roads in India. A conference of all the Chief Engineers was therefore held at Nagpur in 1943 and in accordance with its recommendations a Five-Year Post-War Development Plan was drawn up in Madras for the construction of new national highways, provincial highways, major district roads and village roads and for the widening and repairing of existing

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[1] G.O. No 2711, Local Administration, dated 14th December 1944.

[2] G.O. No. 2639, Local and Municipal, dated 2nd June 1934.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 138.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, page 183.
G.O. No. 4129, Local Administration, dated 2nd December 1940.
G.O. No. 501, Local Administration, dated 8th February 1940.

[3] Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, 1885. See the foot-notes on pages 365–367 and 379–380.

roads wherever necessary. The object of the scheme was to provide eventually access by road to all villages having a population of 500 or more and to so plan the highways that all villages would be within 2 miles of a district road or a highway in densely populated areas and within 5 miles in thinly populated areas. It was thought that after the war the demobilized personnel and military equipment like lorries and road-rollers would be available in plenty to launch this extensive scheme. But, as these hopes did not materialise, the Five-Year Plan had to be modified first into a FifteenYear Plan and later into a Twenty-Five Year Plan. And for the execution of these plans, the Highways Department was formed in 1946.[1] This Department took under its management all national highways, all provincial highways and about 10,000 miles of important district roads, leaving the remaining roads as before under the district boards and the municipalities.[2]

In the Tanjore district, however, there are no national highways, i.e., major roads running through the length and breadth of India connecting ports, foreign highways and capitals of States. But there are provincial highways, i.e., main trunk roads connecting with the national highways or highways of other States, district headquarters and important cities ; and their length, as has been already stated, was 105 miles in 1950–51. There are also major district roads having a length of 946 miles. Of these two classes of roads, 666 miles of roads were in 1950 under the control of the Highways Department. These are administered by two Divisional Engineers with their headquarters at Tanjore and Nagapattinam respectively. The remaining roads are still under the management of the District Board, the Municipalities and the Public Works Department.[3]

Motor traffic, passenger as well as goods traffic, is considerably heavy in the district. There were no less than 236 buses and 122 lorries running on various routes in 1951. But there were only a few public taxis plying for hire.[4] A number of jutkas, however, ply for hire in many towns and their neighbourhood.[5]

The intersection of the roads by innumerable rivers and irrigation canals and channels has made it necessary to provide a large number of bridges and culverts in the district. The Government and the District Board spend large sums of money every year on the construction of new bridges and culverts and on the repair of the existing ones. Of the bridges the most important are the bridge over the Grand Anicut at the outlet

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[1] G.O. No. 114, Local Administration, dated 18th January 1946.
G.O. No. 598, Local Administration, dated 26th March 1946.

[2] Madras, 1950,pages 107–112.

[3] G.O. No. 2611, Public Works, dated 7th July 1950.

[4] Report on the Administration of the Motor Vehicles Act and Rules and the Madras Traffic Rules for 1951, page 8.

[5] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, page 186.

from the Cauvery into the Coleroon and the bridge over the Coleroon. The former was built in 1839 and consists of 30 arches of 32 feet each, but being built over an old work, it is narrow and winding. The latter built in 1855–1856 near Anaikaranchatram was carried away by floods in November 1903. It consisted of 40 elliptical arches of 50 feet span and measured 2,424 feet from wing to wing.[1] Proposals to build a new bridge at the old site were made on several occasions but the bridge was actually taken up for construction only in 1950, the year with which this book closes. The bridge was to consist of 14 spans of 150 feet of reinforced concrete and a 22-foot roadway and a pathway of 5 feet for pedestrians. Its cost amounting to 28·5 lakhs of rupees was to be borne by the District Boards of Tanjore and South Arcot and by the Government.[2]

Where the rivers are not bridged, ferry boats are employed. These are usually round basket boats covered with leather and are called ' parisus ' , but long wooden boats are also sometimes used in the coastal areas.[3] There were 50 ferries under the control of the District Board in 1947–48 and their income from rentals amounted to Rs. 16,166.[4]

Although numerous rivers and canals run through the district, none of them is nowadays regularly used for navigation purposes. There is only a little navigation at the mouth of a few of the larger rivers like the Koraiyar, the Adappar and the Tirumullaivasal Uppanar. Formerly, however, before the advent of the railways and motor lorries, the rivers and canals were used for transport of goods from Tiruchirappalli and other inland places. The disappearance of the river and canal traffic is due not only to the advent of faster means of traffic but also to various other causes. The rivers are too full of shoals to render navigation easy and the artificial alterations of the volume of water in them necessitated by the needs of irrigation make navigation still more difficult. The difficulty of getting the boats inland from the coast against the rapid currents is also considerable and it is not a little increased by the regulators which stop the waterway at several places. The canals present even greater difficulties. The needs of navigation were not kept in view when they were constructed; they too are provided with regulators and the water-supply has never been constant.[5]

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 138.
Idem, Volume II, 1933, page 185.

[2] Five Years of Progress in Tanjore (In Tamil), 1951, page 19.
Madras Information for July 1950, page 38.
G.O. No. 2503, Public Works, dated 26th September 1945.

[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 138.
Idem, Volume II, 1933, page 183.

[4] G.O. No. 709, Local Administration, dated 1st April 1949.

[5] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages139—149.
Idem, Volume II, 1933, pages 183–184,

There were formerly two important navigation canals. One of these was constructed as a famine relief work in 1854–55 along the coast from Tranquebar to Tandavankulam, near Tirumullaivasal, covering a distance of 19 miles. It was primarily designed to improve the means of approach from the north to Tranquebar which had come into the possession of the British in 1845. It cost Rs. 50,000, but it was never a success; Tranquebar did not grow up into an important port and hardly any trace of the canal now exists. The other canal was the Vedaranyam Canal. It was constructed in 1863–67 at a cost of Rs. 55,000; subsequent improvements brought the outlay to Rs. 1,08,000 in 1874. Its total length from Nagapattinam to the southern end is 35½ miles made up of 13¼ miles of the already existing channels of the Adappar, the Vellar and the Kaduvaiyar, 10¼ miles of drainage streams, and 12 miles of new cuts connecting these. Its object was to bring the salt-pans of Vedaranyam into touch with the newly-opened railway terminus at Nagapattinam by an easy means of transport. But after the construction of the Tiruthuraipundi-Agaṣtyampalli railway line in 1919, it lost much of its importance as a means of communication and at present it serves chiefly as a drainage channel. It has no passenger traffic and only cargo boats carrying straw and firewood ply in it.[1] In 1945 a post-war development scheme was drawn up for improving it, for clearing shoals, for constructing two new locks and regulators, for repairing the existing regulator and for providing a dredger.[2] This scheme, however, did not materialize till 1950.

The district is well supplied with railways; in 1950 it had 302 miles of the Southern Railway of which 10½ miles were in the former French territory. The main line from Madras to Dhanushkodi runs via the Sirkali, Mayuram, Kumbakonam, Papanasam and Tanjore taluks. This line from the Coleroon where it enters the district up to Tanjore was opened in 1877–78. A branch line opened in 1861–62 runs from Tanjore via Nidamangalam, Tiruvarur and Nagapattinam up to Nagore. From Mayuram a branch line built in 1926 proceeds to Tranquebar. Another line from Mayuram proceeds to Karaikudi in the Ramanathapuram district passing through Peralam, Tiruvarur, Tiruthuraipundi, Pattukkottai and Arantangi. This line was constructed in four sections; first up to Muthupet in 1894, next up to Pattukkottai in 1902, then up to Arantangi in 1903 and lastly up to Karaikudi in 1953. From Peralam a branch line built in 1898 takes off to Karaikal and from Tiruthuraipundi a branch line takes off to Point Calimere. The last line was built in two sections, first up to Agastyampalli in 1919 and

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 138–139. *Idem*, Vol. II, 1933, pages 183–184.

[2] Post-War Reconstruction and Development Schemes of the Government of Madras, 1945, page 187.

then up to Point Calimere in 1936. A branch line constructed in 1915 connects Nidamangalam to Mannargudi. All the taluk headquarters are connected by these railways. There is a railway out-agency at Tiruvaiyar for passengers, parcels and goods served by Tanjore Junction and an out-agency at Tirukkattupalli for parcels and goods served by Budalur railway station. There is also an out-agency at Vallam for parcels and goods served by Tanjore Junction.[1]

A reference to the map of the district would show that a line from Tanjore to Pattukkottai would complete the net-work of railways in the district. Proposals for the construction of this line have again and again been made, especially after the Cauvery-Mettur Canals began to irrigate this part of the district. The District Board has even gone to the extent of guaranteeing the Government against loss; but the railway has not yet been constructed as it has been considered to be uneconomical.[2] Proposals have also been made for extending a short line which now runs from Tanjore to Pillaiyarpatti Quarry at Vallam, but these have also fallen through on the same ground.[3]

A unique feature of the railways in Tanjore is that with the exception of the main line from the Coleroon to Tanjore and the extensions from Agasthyampalli to Point Calimere and Aranthangi to Karaikudi, all the railway lines in the district were constructed by the District Board. The Tanjore District Board was the first local board in the State to embark boldly on a risky and costly enterprise like the construction of railways. The idea was suggested by one of its earliest presidents, H. S. Thomas. As early as 1878 he recommended to the District Board to take up the scheme, urging that the railways would never become a constant drain on the public purse like the roads and that the maintenance of them would be paid for much more accurately than in the case of roads by the people who used them. But several difficulties, chiefly legal, had to be overcome before the scheme could be put into execution. The funds required for the construction of the railways were provided in nearly equal instalments by the District Board and the Madras Government. The Board provided its share by setting aside one quarter of the ordinary land cess ; and it could very well afford to do this, as the cess was being levied at one anna in every rupee of land assessment,

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[1] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 6.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District. I, 1915, pages 142–145.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, pages 185–186.
G.O. No. 237, P.W., (Railway), dated 30th January 1936.

[2] G.O. No. 1016, P.W., (Railway), dated 19th May 1937.
G.O. No. 1277, P.W.,(Railway), dated 2nd July 1937.
Letter No. 720, P.W., (Railway), dated 5th April 1938.
Letter No. 1104, P.W., (Railway), dated 2nd June 1938.
G.O. No. 2522, P.W., (Railway), dated 20th October 1939.
Letter No. 945, P.W., (Railway), dated 9th May 1940.
G.O. No. 2206-2207, P.W., (Railway), dated 24th July 1947.

[3] G.O. No. 2119, P.W., (Railway), dated 19th October 1937.

while the ordinary expenditure of the Board required its levy at the rate of only nine pies. Subsequently it repaid the Government contribution and became the sole owner of the railways. It, however, delivered all the lines for working to the South Indian Railway on certain conditions.[1]

The last of the lines constructed by the District Board was from Mayuram to Tranquebar in 1926. Further construction of lines by the District Board was stopped with the advent of the Railway Board and the policy of acquiring all the railways in the country by the Government of India. All the lines constructed by the District Board were taken over by the Government of India in 1929. The expenditure incurred by the District Board was then treated as part of the share capital of the South Indian Railway and guaranteed a minimum dividend of 3½ per cent. The District Board was, however, not allowed to transfer its shares to any one except the Government of India.[2] These shares now fetch a very good return upon the capital; in 1945–1946, for instance, their dividend amounted to no less than Rs. 14,67,627.[3]

Just as the district is well supplied with roads and railways, it is well provided with chatrams, rest houses and bungalows for the accommodation of travellers. The Maharashtra Rajas of Tanjore were, as we have seen, extremely liberal in providing chatrams, especially on the pilgrim route to Rameswaram. They were all built between 1743 and 1837 and endowed with landed properties and money allowances on an extensive scale. When the Maharashtra Raj became extinct in 1855, the British Government took over the management of these chatrams and in 1872 transferred them to the District Board. After the opening of the railways, several of the chatrams lost their importance. In the beginning of the century these chatrams numbered only 22 and now they number only 19.[4] Of these the most important are those situated at Rajamadam, Orathanadu and Thiruvaiyar, to each of which is attached a boarding house for feeding deserving poor students. The income from these chatrams, however, is so large that a great deal of it is now diverted to schools, hospitals, dispensaries, etc. Much of it has also been diverted to the building of a large chatram near the Tanjore railway station for the accommodation of travellers and touring officers.

Besides these Rajas' chatrams, the District Board maintains 21 chatrams and 5 water pandals.[5] Some of these were built by private individuals and handed over, more or less

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1 Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 142–145. *Idem*, Volume II, 1933, pages 185–186.
2 Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, page 183.
3 G.O. No. 1116, Local Administration, dated 5th June 1948.
4 G.O. No. 782, Firka Development, dated 18th November 1948.
5 G.O. No. 83, Local Administration, dated 27th January 1954.

endowed, to the District Board, but the majority of them were built in the thirties of the last century by the Collector, Nathaniel William Kindersley, from the surplus of what was known as the Pagoda Fund. To some of these a little land is attached, but their chief source of income is Government contribution. In addition to these public chatrams there are a very large number of private chatrams of all sizes maintained by private endowments or by rich landholders, Nattukkottai Chettiars and others. A large number of travellers' bungalows and rest houses (more than 65) have also been specially built in European style for the accommodation of officers and other travellers.[1]

Tanjore is equally well served by posts and telegraphs. There are post and telegraph head offices at Tanjore, Nagapattinam and Kumbakonam, and as many as 56 sub-post and telegraph offices, 33 non-combined sub-post offices and 641 branch post offices scattered all over the district.[2] Adequate telephone facilities too exist in the district. There are telephone exchanges in the towns of Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Mayuram, Nagapattinam and Tiruvarur with 342 subscribers. There are also 15 public trunk call offices and 12 local call offices.[3]

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pages 140–142.
Idem, Volume II, 1933, pages 184–185.
G.O. No. 83, Local Administration, dated 27th January 1954.
[2] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 6.
[3] See the Telephone Directory, Group V, May 1954 Issue.

CHAPTER XII.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Although the Tanjore district has generally a healthy climate, it is by no means free from diseases. The chief among these diseases are diarrhoea and dysentery, fevers and influenza, malaria and filariasis, tuberculosis, leprosy and venereal diseases and smallpox and cholera. Some of these are obviously caused by insanitary conditions, others thrive on ignorance of personal hygiene, while some others play havoc for want of adequate co-operation of the public with the health authorities.

Cholera has been known to exist in the district for more than a century. There is evidence to show that it appeared in most years and that it flared up in 1818–1820, in 1854, in 1866, in 1869, in 1875, in 1884, in 1887, in 1898, in 1926, in 1927, in 1942, in 1943 and in 1950. The mortality caused by this epidemic in the early part and in the middle of the last century is not recorded in terms of figures. In 1884, however, over 21,000 persons died of cholera in the district; in 1897 over 15,000; in 1898 over 13,000; in 1926 nearly 9,000; in 1927 nearly 7,000; in 1942 nearly 9,000; in 1943 nearly 4,500 and in 1950 nearly 5,000. Indeed, Tanjore has suffered more from cholera than any other district in this State and the Cauvery Delta has been considered an endemic centre for cholera. The epidemic generally breaks out twice in the year, once in summer and once in winter, but its severity is invariably greater in summer than in winter.[1]

As is well known, cholera is caused by germs which are given out in very large numbers in the motion and vomit of cholera patients. These germs contaminate food through flies and drinking water through the washing of infected clothes, etc., and any person who takes such contaminated food or water immediately catches the disease. The symptoms of cholera are easily detected; they are profuse diarrhoea, vomiting, extreme prostration, suppression of urine, intense thirst, cramps, especially of the leg muscles, and utter exhaustion followed by death. The spread of the disease is mainly caused by the indiscriminate fouling of channels, tanks, streams and other water-courses, by the failure of monsoons and the consequent water scarcity and large scale migration of people in search of food and labour, by the occurrence of

[1] Judicial Consultations, dated 29th September 1820 and 13th October 1820.
Tanjore District Manual, page 54.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 154.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, page 195.
1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 11.

festivals that attract crowds of pilgrims from different places and by the constant intercommunication between villages and towns.[1] When it is remembered that the Cauvery Delta is a veritable net-work of irrigation channels and streams, large and small, and that the district is the granary of the south and is noted for its numerous festivals, it can be easily understood why cholera spreads so fast and takes so heavy a toll of life in Tanjore.

Normally a severe epidemic starts after the onset of the north-east monsoon in November. It invariably starts at the head of the Cauvery Delta in the Tanjore and Papanasam taluks and then rapidly spreads along the course of the river and its numerous branches through the taluks of Papanasam, Kumbakonam, Nannilam, Mannargudi and Mayuram. It continues its ravages in December, January and February and then subsides. Apart from this winter epidemic which is usually known as the deltaic cholera, a summer epidemic breaks out in the non-deltaic portions of the district in May, June, July and August and lasts till the onset of the north-east monsoon.[2]

Before the separate Health Department came into existence in 1922, no systematic efforts were made to check the ravages of cholera. Since 1922, however, several steps have been taken to control its outbreaks. Among the preventive measures, protected water-supply, proper disposal of night-soil and sanitary control over the preparation and sale of food have been considered the most important. But these measures have been found difficult of achievement, what with the want of finances and the want of public co-operation. Among the control measures, isolation and treatment of patients, disinfection of infected material and immunization of the people by anti-cholera inoculation have been considered the most important. These measures, however, have been enforced to a great extent with good results in Tanjore. The Health Department attend to the chlorination of water-supply, to the disinfection of excreta, vomit and infected material, to the control of fly-breeding centres by improved general sanitation, to the killing of flies by D.D.T. spraying, to the isolation of infected cases, as far as possible, and to the mass inoculation of the people against cholera.[3] Recently a research team financed by the Indian Council of Medical Research worked in some selected villages in the Cauvery Delta with the object of finding out what happens to the cholera germs between two

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[1] Public Health Pamphlet No. 2, Control of Epidemics, 1949, pages 5–6.
Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, 1946, Vol, I, pages 112–114.

[2] Tanjore District Gazetteer, Vol. II, 1933, page 195.

[3] Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, 1946, Vol. I, pages 112–114.
Public Health Pamphlet No. 2, Control of Epidemics, 1949, pages 5–7.

outbreaks. Its researches, however, showed that no such germs could be detected in man or water in the inter-epidemic period. [1]

Small-pox has been known to exist in this district as elsewhere from time immemorial. The worship of Mariamman, the Goddess of small-pox, dates back to ancient times. Recorded evidence shows that the ravages of small-pox in the nineteenth century were not so great as that of cholera. Vaccination was introduced in the Tanjore district as in other districts in 1802, [2] but in spite of this the disease caused a considerable mortality. Thus in the several years in the decade between 1868 and 1877, it caused on an average more than 3,000 deaths per year in the district. In 1884 it caused nearly 3,400 deaths; in 1888, nearly 9,000; and in 1900, about 3,800. [3] In the present century, its ravages have been considerably controlled, especially after the formation of the separate Health Department. Normally the mortality due to small-pox is only a few hundreds in the district; but sometimes, as in 1923 and 1924 and in 1944 and 1945, the mortality has risen high. It was 1,160 in 1923, 1,145 in 1924, 1,900 in 1944 and 4,527 in 1945. [4]

Small-pox spreads by contact, direct or indirect, through clothes, utensils, etc., and also by droplet infection through air over short distances or through dust particles. Its symptoms are severe fever, usually lasting for three days, followed by a rash which is thickest on the face and hands and which develops in the course of nine to twelve days into pustules that dry up and drop off in about three weeks. It is sometimes accompanied by various complications, especially complications of the eye. Medical science has not yet discovered a cure for the disease, but, on the preventive side, it has discovered a most effective remedy, namely, vaccination. Vaccination, however, does not confer permanent immunity. A person has to get himself re-vaccinated particularly during the outbreak of the epidemic. If all children are vaccinated as required by law and if all adults get themselves periodically re-vaccinated, the disease can be completely eradicated as in most of the European countries. But this has not, of course, been found practicable for want of public co-operation. Besides vaccination, the other measures necessary for controlling the spread of the disease are prompt notification, isolation, disinfection and protection and surveillance of contacts. Prompt notification has seldom been done by the people, but the rest of the measures are more or less effectually taken by the Public Health staff in the district. [5]

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1 Report on the Health Conditions in Madras State for 1949, page 14.
Idem for 1950, page 13.
2 Studies in Madras Administration, Vol. II, 1949, page 160.
3 Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 155.
4 *Idem*, Volume II, page 195.
1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 11.
5 Public Health Pamphlet No. 2, Control of Epidemics, 1949, pages 1–5.

As to diseases other than cholera and small-pox, if we take the number of patients treated in the various hospitals and dispensaries in the district, allopathic as well as indigenous as an index of their incidence, we find that diarrhoea and dysentery, pyrexia (fevers of unknown origin) and influenza, and rheumatic fevers and malaria are widely prevalent. Filariasis, tuberculosis and hook-worm (ankylostomiasis) claim a good number of victims, while a large number of victims are claimed by leprosy and venereal diseases.[1] In 1949, for instance, 79,696 cases of diarrhoea and dysentery, 73,499 cases of pyrexia, 41,802 cases of influenza, 18,949 cases of rheumatic fevers, 48,786 cases of malaria, 11,559 cases of filariasis, 7,162 cases of tuberculosis, 6,914 cases of hookworm, 6,263 cases of leprosy and 37,342 cases of venereal diseases were treated in the various hospitals and dispensaries.[2]

Malaria was practically unknown in the district some twenty years ago. But with the execution of the Cauvery-Mettur scheme, it appeared and began rapidly to spread in the Pattukkottai taluk. A survey made by a Rockefeller Foundation Unit in 1937–1938 revealed that, from 64 cases of malaria treated in the local hospital in 1930, the number of cases shot up to 1,168 in 1934, to 3,380 in 1935, to 2,367 in 1936 and to 2,215 in 1937. This increase was found to be due to the breeding of mosquitoes in tanks, fallow rice-fields, burrow pits, ditches and branch irrigation canals and channels in which water stagnated as a result of the irrigation scheme.[3] Anti-malarial operations were accordingly commenced from 1939; the channels and canals were rectified and re-aligned, the burrow pits were filled up, unnecessary tanks were eliminated, larvicides were sprayed, and larvicidal fish were introduced.[4] Since then a Regional Malarial Organization has been set up at Pattukkottai (subsequently shifted to Tanjore in 1951) and this has been taking all the measures necessary (including D.D.T. spraying) for controlling malaria as well as filariasis, not only in Tanjore but also in other adjacent districts. This organization also trains subordinate personnel for laboratory and field work, conducts malaria surveys and draws up anti-malaria schemes to be worked by the local bodies with the assistance of Government grants.[5]

Recently, tuberculosis, the incidence of which, as has been seen, is fairly heavy in the district, has also attracted attention.

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[1] See the Annual Administration Reports on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries in Madras.

[2] *Idem* for 1949, pages 32–37.

[3] G.O. No. 2000, Public Health, dated 31st May 1938.

[4] Report of the Director of Public Health for 1939, pages 22–23.
Idem for 1940, page 21.

[5] Report on the Health Conditions in Madras State for 1949, page 25.
Idem for 1950, pages 25–26.
Idem for 1951, pages 21–23.

In 1947 the Collector of Tanjore launched a vigorous campaign for the collection of funds for establishing a tuberculosis sanatorium in the district. As a result of this 5½ lakhs of rupees were collected from the people. The District Board also contributed Rs. 10 lakhs from its surplus funds and agreed to spend 50,000 rupees a year for the maintenance of the sanatorium. The Government alienated 500 acres of land in Sengipatti and Palayapatti villages situated at a distance of seventeen miles from Tanjore, and here the sanatorium was built in 1948–51. It was opened in 1951 and named after Mahatma Gandhi.[1]

Leprosy which is another fell disease and which, there is evidence to show, existed at Tranquebar even as far back as 1780, if not earlier,[2] has also claimed some special treatment in the district. There is a Mission Leprosy Hospital at Kumbakonam with about 500 beds. The Government Hospital at Nagapattinam also affords special treatment for leprosy cases.[3] And since 1927 in pursuance of the policy of opening as many leprosy clinics as possible, several such clinics have been opened in the Government as well as local board hospitals and dispensaries.[4]

Hookworm disease or ankylostomiasis was found to be widely prevalent in this as in some other districts in 1925–1926 when a special campaign was conducted with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. This campaign showed that no less than 57 per cent of the people in the Tanjore district harboured hookworms.[5] It was then discovered that the most potent factors for the spread of the disease were heavy rainfall associated with warm climate and extensive irrigation, both of which lead to extensive soil pollution. The remedy suggested for controlling the disease was nothing less than the provision of numerous bore-hole latrines. The Government thereupon started a rural sanitation campaign in 1928; they appointed a special staff for controlling the disease and encouraged the local bodies to devote special attention to the construction of proper public latrines.[6] Public latrines, however, are even now too few to make any real impression.

Turning to the public health administration in the district, the first steps in this direction in all districts were taken in 1871. In that year the Madras Local Funds Act (Act IV of 1871) and the Madras Towns Improvement Act (Act III of 1871) were passed making sanitation the responsibility of the

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[1] Madras Information, January 1952, page 9.
[2] Public Consultations, dated 31st July and 16th October 1810.
[3] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 8.
[4] G.O. No. 1005, Public, dated 1st June 1937, page 1395.
[5] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, page 195.
[6] Report of the Director of Public Health for 1926, pages 26–27. *Idem*, 1927, pages 31–32.

local bodies. These Acts contained provisions for the extension of vaccination in rural areas and municipal towns, for the construction and repair of hospitals and dispensaries, for the sanitary inspection of towns and villages, for the cleaning of roads, streets, tanks, etc., and for the registration of vital statistics. The next instalment of public health legislation was embodied in the Madras Local Boards Act of 1884 (Act V of 1884) and the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1884 (Act IV of 1884) which replaced the former Acts. Under the first Act, unions were formed and the local bodies were required to undertake measures for scavenging and cleaning streets and other public places, for improving sites, for providing water-supply, for making sanitary arrangements during fairs and festivals and for constructing markets, slaughter-houses, latrines, dust-bins and drains. Similar provisions were framed in the second Act for the improvement of public health in municipal towns. The third instalment of public health legislation was incorporated in the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920 (Act XIV of 1920) and the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920 (Act V of 1920). These Acts imposed additional obligations on local bodies and marked a further advance in public health legislation. But even these Acts were soon found inadequate and ill-designed to secure proper Government control over public health matters. The First Congress Ministry therefore passed the Madras Public Health Act of 1939 (Act III of 1939), embodying all provisions essential for the advancement of public health in the State. This comprehensive Act which is now in force provides for many things. It provides for the constitution of a Public Health Board in the State. It gives statutory recognition to the Director of Public Health and arms him with sufficient powers for the effective discharge of his duties. It empowers him to compel the major local bodies to employ Health Officers and to fix their scales of pay as well as the scales of pay and the conditions of service of the public health establishments. It stipulates that the local bodies should earmark a definite percentage of their income for public health expenditure. It imposes an obligation on local bodies (at the discretion of the Government) to provide a sufficient supply of drinking water, by a compulsory levy of water-tax if necessary. It makes effective provision for the maintenance of proper drainage and the construction of an adequate number of public latrines, for the prevention and abatement of nuisances, for the prevention and eradication of infectious diseases, for the prevention, treatment and control of venereal diseases, for the adoption of maternity and child-welfare measures, for the enforcement of mosquito control, for the reservation of areas for residential purposes, for the registration of lodging-houses, for the exercise of control over the making and sale of food, and finally, for the undertaking of special measures

during fairs and festivals. The Act is an admirable piece of legislation, but its enforcement demands full public co-operation.

Side by side with all this legislation, steps were taken to organize an efficient Public Health Department in the State. Prior to 1922 the district health problems in Tanjore, as in other districts, were left to the supervision of the District Medical Officer who was then called the District Medical and Sanitary Officer. It was true that, so far as the central machinery for the administration of public health was concerned, there was a Sanitary Commissioner in Madras from 1869 and that he was assisted by two or three Deputy Sanitary Commissioners. But until 1922 he had to depend mostly on the District Medical and Sanitary Officer for supervising the district health administration. The District Medical and Sanitary Officer had in practice very little to do with public health beyond offering advice on sanitary matters to the local bodies. Several of the District Boards and Municipalities, including those of Tanjore, had their own staff of rural sanitary officers whose main duty then consisted of vaccination and nothing else. In order to check the work of the vaccinators, the Government maintained about a hundred deputy inspectors of vaccination and, in order to check cholera, they maintained eight cholera parties. In order to check plague, the Collectors engaged a staff of plague inspectors at the expense partly of provincial and partly of local funds.[1] This system which was obviously unsatisfactory and which did nothing towards co-ordinating the health activities came in for criticism in 1912 from the Government of India. That Government then suggested the expansion of public health activities both at the headquarters of the State and in the districts, including the appointment of Health Officers of the First and Second Class in the Municipalities and an adequate number of sanitary inspectors in the districts. This led to the appointment of a few Municipal Health Officers in some towns.[2] In 1914 the Government of India again stressed the need for appointing District Health Officers for co-ordinating and controlling all the public health activities of the district.[3] So long as the First World War was on, nothing could be done, but the times were fast changing. In 1918 the Conference of Sanitary Officers held at Delhi commented very strongly on the absence of any special organization for rural sanitation in India and recommended that each district should have a complete self-contained public health staff, and the Government of India urged this recommendation for adoption.[4] Shortly afterwards under the Reforms Act of 1919 sanitation

[1] Public Health Code, 1928, Part I, pages 9–11.
Idem (Revised Edition), pages 1–6.
[2] G.O. No. 457, Local, dated 14th March 1913, pages 1–10.
[3] G.O. No. 1364, Local, dated 3rd August 1914, pages 1–16.
[4] G.O. No. 954, Local, dated 22nd July 1918, pages 1–4.

and public health became a transferred subject under the control of the Provincial Minister in charge of Local Self-Government and the new Government lost no time in organizing a separate Health Department and in introducing an efficient District Health Scheme. The title of the Sanitary Commissioner was changed to the Director of Public Health, of the Sanitary Department to the Public Health Department, and of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners to the Assistant Directors of Public Health.[1] Three Assistant Directors, one in charge of vital statistics and propaganda, another in charge of vaccination and small-pox, and the third in charge of fairs and festivals were appointed.[2] Health Officers were constituted into a regular provincial service, individual officers being lent to local bodies as required. The qualifications of the First and Second-class Health Officers were fixed;[3] District Health Committees were set up;[4] the First-class Health Officers were ordered to be employed under all District Boards and in Municipalities having a population of 50,000 or more[5] and Second-Class Health Officers were ordered to be appointed to the other fairly large Municipalities. The services of the deputy inspectors of vaccination and of the sanitary inspectors of the cholera parties were amalgamated and all were designated as sanitary or health inspectors.[6]

Tanjore was one of the first districts to be brought under this District Health Scheme. This was done in 1922.[7] Since then, the scheme has undergone hardly any important changes. Under it, at present, there is a District Health Officer, with headquarters at Tanjore, six Municipal Health Officers in the district including the Municipal Health Officer, Nagapattinam, who is also the Port Health Officer at Nagapattinam, one Regional Malariologist and one Senior Entomologist; and the Health Officers have under them a large number of health inspectors and vaccinators. The duties of the Health Officers are various. The District Health Officer as the executive head of the district health staff has to tour not less than 60 days in each quarter, and inspect all unions and other important villages at least once a year. He has to examine, verify and see to the correctness of village vital statistics (maintained by the village officers of the Revenue Department), to make recommendations for improving sanitation and drinking water-supply of the villages, to make sanitary arrangements for the conduct of fairs and festivals, to inspect areas affected by epidemics, to concentrate, if necessary, his whole health

[1] G.O. Nos. 367–368, Public Health, dated 8th March 1922.
[2] Public Health Code, 1928, Part I, page 13.
[3] G.O. No. 533, Public Health, dated 18th May 1921.
[4] G.O. No. 1354, Public Health, dated 19th October 1921.
G.O. No. 165, Public Health, dated 1st February 1922.
[5] G.O. No. 533, Public Health, dated 18th May 1931.
[6] G.O. No. 817, Public Health, dated 10th June 1922.
[7] *Idem*.

staff to check them, to supervise the work of the district health inspectors, especially their vaccination work, and to perform such other duties as the Director of Public Health or the President of the District Board might call upon him to perform. He has to submit his reports to the President of the District Board who has to forward them to the Director of Public Health ; and whenever he has reason to consider that the mortality in any local area is abnormal or that any local area is threatened with an epidemic, he has to bring the fact to the notice of the President of the District Board or the Chairman of the Municipal Council with his recommendations. He, as the Additional Factory Inspector, has to inspect all factories not less than 50 per cent every half-year. Nor is this all. He has to pay special attention to conservancy, cholera, small-pox, plague, and the control of all epidemics, to conduct health propaganda in rural areas by talk, demonstration, lantern lectures, cinemas, etc., to attend the meetings of the District Board and the Union Boards at which any important sanitary matter is discussed and offer his advice, and to take necessary action in all public health work, such as the management of epidemics, fairs and festivals.[1]

The Municipal Health Officer as the executive head of the public health services of the municipality has to be responsible to the Chairman of the Municipal Council for their efficient working. He has to supervise sanitation and conservancy by frequent inspections, to check the work of the municipal health staff, to prevent the accumulation of rubbish and filth in private premises, to scrutinize the schemes for town improvement, to submit proposals for relief of congestion, to approve plans for the construction of new buildings and to inspect markets, slaughter-houses, eating-houses and sources of drinking water-supply. He has to check the work of the vaccinators, to ensure the accurate registration of births and deaths, to inspect all places affected by epidemics or diseases, to take preventive measures and to submit a report on them with his recommendations to the Chairman of the Municipal Council and the Director of Public Health. He has, moreover, to supervise maternity and child-welfare centres, to undertake health propaganda, to offer advice on public health matters at the meetings of the Municipal Council and to co-operate fully with the medical officer of the place.[2] He has to attend to the issue of licences to the dangerous and offensive trades under the Madras Public Health Act, 1939 and also to inspect factories as Additional Factory Inspector.

The Public Health Act of 1939 and the District Health Scheme of 1922 are not the only measures that have been undertaken to improve public health in the districts. The Madras Town-Planning Act of 1920 (Act VII of 1920) has been

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[1] G.O. No. 1393, Public Health, dated 11th August 1926.
[2] G.O. No. 1960, Public Health, dated 21st September 1925.

passed to improve the environment in municipal areas. Under this Act, the Municipal Councils have been enjoined to prepare proper plans for the development of urban areas. Since 1913 several steps have also been taken to improve rural as well as urban water-supply. In that year a number of type designs for the improvement of rural water-supply were prepared and issued. In 1915 the Government, with the object of providing at least one well in every village of 500 inhabitants, began to make lump-sum grants to the local bodies. In 1920 they modified this plan and began to contribute funds towards the cost of rural water-supply schemes whenever the local bodies put up such schemes, provided the schemes were approved by the Sanitary Engineering authorities and the areas for which the water-supply was intended were constituted into unions and rates levied to contribute a portion of the cost. In 1925 they began to make half grants to the District Boards towards rural water-supply schemes. In 1936 they distributed 108½ lakhs of rupees granted by the Government of India for the improvement of rural water-supply. In 1937 the First Congress Ministry created a separate fund for the improvement of rural water-supply, drew up a comprehensive scheme of protected water-supply and began to finance it directly from State funds, making the Collectors of the districts responsible for the work. This scheme which was retarded by the Second World War has been taken up by the National Government for implementation. The National Government have also constituted in 1948 a separate fund with an initial amount of one crore of rupees for the development of rural water-supply. As to urban water-supply and drainage, the Government prepared in 1944 a priority list of water-supply and drainage schemes for Municipalities and Panchayats with a population of 10,000 and above. In 1947 the National Government, in order to expedite progress in these directions, constituted a Water-supply and Drainage Committee and upon its recommendation agreed that the water-supply and drainage schemes drawn up by it in the order of priority should be permitted to be taken up by the local bodies irrespective of their financial resources. They have also agreed to grant the additional funds required and to extend the period of the repayment of the loans from 20 to 40 years. They have stipulated 20 years as the maximum period within which all the urban areas in the State should be provided with water-supply and drainage facilities.[1]

This is not all. Every attempt has been made in this century to afford the much needed maternity relief to rural as well as urban areas. The earliest attempt in this direction,

[1] Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 418–422. Public Health in Madras (Pamphlet), 1952, pages 7–15.

however, was made by the Government in 1875 when they asked the local boards to appoint trained midwives in their hospitals and dispensaries. This order was repeated in 1879, 1880 and 1893 but with little result. In 1915 the Government increased the provision for the training of midwives in the Madras hospitals from 64 to 100 and recognised the need for opening training schools for midwives in all mufassal lying-in-hospitals. There were then no organizations for pre-natal and post-natal care, nor any child-welfare centres. The credit for starting maternity and child-welfare centres for the first time in this State belongs to the Madras Corporation. In 1917 it started two such centres in the city and since then the work has been taken up and expanded by voluntary associations both in the city and in the districts. Under the Madras District Municipalities Act of 1920 and the Madras Local Boards Act of 1920, provision for adequate facilities for maternity and child-welfare work has been made the responsibility of the local bodies, and the local bodies have been specially asked (1923) to attend to this work in accordance with a comprehensive plan drawn up by the Director of Public Health. This plan envisages the establishment of ante-natal and post-natal clinics and child-welfare centres, the employment of lady health visitors, paid or voluntary, the provision of maternity labour wards and children's hospitals and the extension of maternity and child-welfare propaganda. In order to give a practical shape to this plan, the Government have also created (1931) a special section in the Public Health Department in charge of an Assistant Directress of Public Health and entrusted the supervision over the work of the maternity and child-welfare centres in the districts to the District Health Officers and the Municipal Health Officers (1933).[1]

Some of these public health measures have borne good fruit in Tanjore. The Public Health Act of 1939 has secured the necessary governmental control over public health matters administered by the local bodies. Its provisions, though not always, at least on occasions of outbreaks of epidemics, have considerably strengthened the hands of the Health Department to undertake adequate measures for the control and prevention of diseases. The District Health Scheme has provided the district with a District Health Officer and several Municipal Health Officers who supervise all public health matters and exercise adequate control over the subordinate health establishments. The Town-Planning Act, however, has not yet produced any substantial results.[2] Nor have the schemes for protected water-supply made much headway. Protected water-supply by pipes is limited to Tanjore, Kumbakonam and

[1] Public Health Code (Revised Edition), pages 132–147.
Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 424–427.

[2] G.O. No. 3730, Health, dated 3rd November 1950.

Nagapattinam Municipalities and the number of public wells in the district is only about 850.[1] It is estimated that no less than 3,000 public wells are required to supply the needs of the people.[2] Many people are still in the habit of taking water for drinking purposes indiscriminately from unprotected sources of water-supply like streams, canals, tanks, etc.[3] Drainage is even more unsatisfactory. Even in the municipal towns, except in Nagapattinam, although schemes for underground drainage have been drawn up, they have not yet been carried out.[4] Conservancy is confined to the Municipalities and a few of the smaller towns. Several maternity and child-welfare centres have indeed been opened.[5] In 1950, there were 23 such centres under the District Board and 13 under the Municipalities. Besides these, there are also a number of midwives attached to hospitals and dispensaries.[6] Still, the arrangements made for maternity and child-welfare cannot be considered to be quite adequate. On the whole, much remains to be done to improve public health and to control, if not eradicate, the diseases.

Coming to the curative side of public health, very little was done in that direction by the Government in this or in other districts till about 1840. There was, indeed, a Surgeon-General in Madras from 1786 but his duties were confined to the British forces. There was also a Medical Board in Madras from the same year, but its duties were confined to the supervision of the work of the Surgeons employed in the East India Company's Settlements, to look after the welfare of the Company's servants. There were likewise Zillah Surgeons in the districts, but their duties too were confined to the care of the European Officers at the headquarters stations and to the supervision of the health of the prisoners confined in the Jails.[7] The only kind of medical aid which the Government rendered to the public in those days was that of requiring the Zillah Surgeons to control the work of the vaccinators in the districts and of permitting the Collectors to afford medical relief to the people through the Indian medical practitioners, whenever any serious outbreaks of cholera took place.[8] In all other matters the public were entirely left to themselves and they

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[1] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 8.

[2] G.O. No. 5586, Public Health, dated 27th November 1940—See page 35 of the Report of the Rural Water-Supply Committee.

[3] Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, page 420.
Public Health Pamphlet No. 2, Control of Epidemics, page 6.

[4] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, page 8.

[5] G.O. No. 2435, Local Administration, dated 18th December 1950—See page 15 of the Municipality Report.

[6] This information has been taken from the Administration Reports of the District Board and of the Municipalities for 1949–1950.

[7] Madras Manual of Administration by Maclean, Vol. I, pages 507–511.

[8] Judicial Consultations, dated 29th September 1820 and 13th October 1820.
Judicial Despatch to England, dated 11th March 1820.

obtained whatever medical aid they could from private Indian institutions or practitioners of indigenous medicine.

From 1840, however, a change came to be introduced. In that year, on the recommendation of the Medical Board, the Government began to open for the first time civil hospitals or dispensaries in large towns for the treatment of the public, especially the poor people. One such dispensary was opened in Kumbakonam in 1842.[1] Other dispensaries soon followed in the district at Nagapattinam, at Tranquebar, at Mannargudi, etc.[2] In the meantime the Medical Board was replaced in 1857 by a Director-General or Inspector-General of the Medical Department.[3] In 1880 his post was converted into that of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Madras. The Surgeon-General, whose designation has now been changed into Director of Medical Services, was entrusted with the control and superintendence of the civil hospitals and dispensaries and the medical establishments attached to the judicial, revenue, police and other civil departments as well as the medical establishments of the Indian army. In 1883 the Zillah Surgeons who had by now come to be called Civil Surgeons were supplied with Assistant Surgeons in all the districts, including Tanjore, and required to tour and inspect all the civil hospitals and dispensaries in the district and to supervise also all sanitary work, especially vaccination. Thenceforth they came to be called the District Medical and Sanitary Officers[4]. It has already been seen how in sanitary or public health matters they came to be replaced in 1922 by the District Health Officers. Since then their designation has been changed to District Medical Officers.

All this time the civil hospitals and dispensaries opened in the districts became more and more popular. They increased in number as well as in size and began to cater not only to the poorer classes but also to the richer classes. The public came forward to contribute liberally for their maintenance and by 1870, there is evidence to show, most of them became self-supporting[5]. In 1871 they were, by the Local Boards Act and Towns Improvement Act, placed under the Local Boards and Municipalities and subsequently most of them came under the District Boards, when the District Boards took the place

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[1] Public Consultations, dated 22nd February 1840.
Idem, dated 20th June 1843.

[2] Administration Report of the Madras Presidency for 1859–1860—See the Report of the Principal Inspector-General, Medical Department.
Idem for 1860–1861, page 140.
Idem for 1863–1864, page 101.

[3] Madras Manual of Administration by Maclean, Vol. I, page 507.

[4] G.O. No. 945, Public, dated 21st June 1880.
G.O. No. 391, Public, dated 22nd February 1883.

[5] Administration Report of the Madras Presidency for 1871–1872, page 196.

of the Local Boards. In the early stages the Government gave only very small grants to the local bodies for the maintenance of these medical institutions. But from 1915 the Government began to adopt a more liberal attitude by granting one-half of the initial and recurring cost of these institutions opened after that date. In 1917 they went a step further. They took over the entire management of the district and taluk headquarters hospitals with a view to making them model centres for medical aid [1]. This policy has since been vigorously pursued in all the districts with the result that several of the hospitals and dispensaries in the State are now run directly by the Government. In regard to the other non-Government hospitals and dispensaries, they have continued to contribute grants in some cases and have also in other cases lent their own medical officers. They have, moreover, from 1911 and more particularly from 1929, extended the system of appointing honorary medical officers in all district headquarters hospitals and Government hospitals.[2] They have since 1926 provided for the training of indigenous midwives (dhais) in modern methods of midwifery, increased the subsidy allowed to qualified midwives employed in rural dispensaries and insisted on the registration of nurses and midwives as well as 'dhais' by passing the Madras Nurses and Midwives Act (Act III of 1926).[3]

Nor is this all. They have introduced a scheme of subsidised rural dispensaries for providing medical relief in areas in which it is not possible to establish any regular dispensaries. Under this scheme which was started in 1924 men qualified either in the Western or Indian system of medicine, who settle permanently in specified villages and agree to treat the poor free of charge, are given subsidies partly by the Government and partly by the local bodies. The liability of the Government is restricted to the payment of subsidy to the medical practitioner and the midwife, while the cost of the medicines and contingent charges are met by the local bodies. The medical practitioner is, however, at liberty to accept fees from well-to-do patients. Besides these subsidised dispensaries, the District Boards have set up rural dispensaries of their own for rendering medical aid to the rural population.[4]

Another measure that has been undertaken for expanding the scope of medical aid to rural areas is that of training as many men as possible in the indigenous systems of medicine, so that they may settle down as medical practitioners in the villages or take charge of the rural dispensaries belonging to

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[1] G.O. No. 397, Local, dated 9th March 1915.
G.O. No. 1149, Local, dated 16th August 1915.
Madras Presidency 1881 to 1931 by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 117.
[2] Madras Presidency 1881 to 1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 117.
[3] *Idem*, page 117.
[4] G.O. No. 1005, Public, dated 1st June 1937, page 1394.
Monograph on Rural Problems by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, page 423.

the District Boards. A School of Indian Medicine was opened for this purpose in 1925, and since then, in order to provide a higher standard of training, a College of Indian Medicine has also been opened (1947–1948). A scheme has also been recently evolved (1949) for improving the knowledge of the practitioners of the indigenous systems residing in rural areas. Under this scheme, called the Village Vaidya Scheme, selected practitioners receive training for six months in first-aid, minor surgery, hygiene, preventive medicine, etc., and are afterwards examined in these subjects as well as in subjects dealing with indigenous medicine ; and those who pass the examination are declared Village Vaidyas and made eligible for appointments by Village Panchayats on an honorarium. Of the four centres opened in the State for training these Vaidyas, one is situated at Tanjore [1].

Such in bold outline is the history of medical aid in the districts. As has been seen, Tanjore began to receive medical aid from the State from 1842, and since then, its nature and scope have been gradually expanded under the several schemes mentioned above. It has today a good number of Government, District Board (Local Fund) and Municipal hospitals and dispensaries. It has also some private medical institutions and Railway dispensaries. In 1949, for instance, there were Government hospitals belonging to Class I at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Mannargudi, Mayuram, Nagapattinam, Pattukkottai, Tiruvarur and Tiruthuraipundi with a provision of 511 beds for men and 366beds for women. The total number of patients treated in them, both indoor and outdoor, amounted to 458,041. There were 36 Local Fund dispensaries situated at some of the smaller towns and 6 Municipal dispensaries with a bed strength of 24 for men and 36 for women. The number of patients treated in these dispensaries was 834,746. There were one Government Women and Children dispensary at Nagapattinam, one Municipal Women and Children dispensary at Kumbakonam and one Local Fund Women and Children hospital at Tiruthuraipundi. They had 23 beds for women and they treated 51,521 patients. There were also 31 rural dispensaries, which treated 136,497 patients as well as 19 general rural dispensaries and 16 subsidised rural dispensaries of indigenous medicine which treated 159,982 patients. There were, in addition, two private aided hospitals, the St. Anne's Hospital and a Leper Asylum, both at Kumbakonam, and three Railway dispensaries at Mayuram, Tiruvarur and Tanjore. The two private hospitals treated 32,979 patients and the Railway dispensaries treated 31,776 patients.[2]

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[1] Public Health in Madras (Pamphlet), 1952, pages 24–25.

[2] Report on the Working of Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries in Madras for 1949, pages 24–25.

G.O. No. 3811, Health, dated 7th November 1950—See page 21 of the Report on the Hospitals and Dispensaries of Indigenous Medicine for 1949.

G.O. No. 2456, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950—See page 35 of the District Board Administration Report for 1949–1950.

Of the hospitals in the district, the most important is the Raja Mirasdar Hospital at Tanjore. This was built in 1879–1880 with the help of a contribution of Rs. 30,000 from the charities of Raja Sarabhoji and from the private contributions of a large number of mirasdars. The site was donated by the princess of Tanjore and the building cost Rs. 66,000. Subsequently several additions and alterations were made to the building. The hospital is now maintained by the Government with some contribution from the Raja's charities. It has a maternity hospital also attached to it as well as a separate ward for tuberculosis, an ophthalmic ward, a good operation theatre, an X-Ray department and a blood-bank.[1] It is under the immediate supervision of the District Medical Officer and his assistants. There was formerly a medical school, called the Prince of Wales Medical School, attached to it, but this was closed in 1933 as a measure of retrenchment.[2]

The medical administration of the whole district is in the hands of the District Medical Officer. He is assisted by a number of Assistant Surgeons, some of whom are in the headquarters hospitals and the rest are in charge of the important local fund dispensaries. He has a general control over all medical institutions in the district. It is his duty to advise the President of the District Board and the Chairmen of the Municipalities on all professional matters connected with the administration of the hospitals and the dispensaries, including those relating to punishments, promotions, transfers, etc., of the subordinate medical staff employed in them. It is his duty to bring to the notice of the revenue and judicial officers all circumstances which are, in his opinion, prejudicial to the health of the Government servants, prisoners in jails and the civil population generally. It is his duty to supervise and control the medical establishments of jails, dispensaries, etc., at the district headquarters. It is also his duty to inspect, as far as possible, all the medical institutions in the district once a year,[3] except the indigenous medical institutions which are now (since 1949) inspected by an officer deputed by the Honorary Director of Indigenous Medicine.[4] He is, however, in all matters, subordinate to the Director of Medical Services.

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, 1915, Vol. I, page 158.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, pages 196–197.
Triennial Report on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries in Madras, 1950, page 6.

[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, page 197.

[3] The Madras Civil Medical Code, Vol. I, 1929, pages 95–101.

[4] G.O. No. 1483, P.H., dated 22nd April 1949.

CHAPTER XIII.

EDUCATION.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century education in the Tanjore district was almost entirely imparted in the indigenous institutions. Save for a few missionary schools, most of the schools and higher institutions of learning which may be called colleges were supported either by the funds provided by Raja Sarabhoji or by the contributions paid by the students. In 1823, for instance, it was found that there were 884 schools and 109 colleges in the district. Of these schools 41 were free schools ; 19 run by the Christian missionaries, 21 maintained by the Rāja and 1 by the Tiruvarur temple. All the rest, except 3 in which the masters taught free, were maintained by fees from students generally at the rate of four fanams per month. In these schools were taught reading, writing and arithmetic normally for a period of five years to the pupils of all castes of the Hindus as well as to those of the Muslims and the Christians. These schools were, in fact, nothing more than the pial schools which have existed for ages in India. As to the 109 colleges save in the case of 10, instruction was given gratuitously. No less than 71 of these free colleges were situated in the town of Tanjore and the villages belonging to the Raja and were supported by him ; 16 were run by the masters gratuitously, 1 was endowed with an inam, 7 were maintained by a temple, 3 by private donations and 1 by contributions made by the villages. All these colleges were intended only for the Brahmins and they taught theology, law, astronomy, etc. There is evidence to show that 17,582 students, among whom were 154 girls, were undergoing instruction in the schools and that 769 scholars, all of whom were males, were undergoing instruction in the colleges.[1]

When the British took over the administration of the country, it appeared, for a time, as if the Government would initiate new measures to improve education. In 1813 the British Parliament, while renewing the charter of the East India Company, directed that a lakh of rupees should be annually appropriated from the Indian revenues for "the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." This, however, produced hardly any results in Madras. Nor did a more determined, more persevering, endeavour made by Sir Thomas Munro, while he

[1] Board's Consultation No. 61, dated 3rd July 1823.
Revenue Consultation No. 1, dated 30th September 1825.

was Governor of Madras, produce any very substantial results. He started in 1822 a State-wide enquiry into the condition of education in the various districts but ended only by establishing a few Collectorate schools, some Tahsildari Schools, a normal school in Madras for training the teachers for the Collectorate schools and a Board of Public Instruction for supervising the schools. Besides this, all that he did was to make a grant to the School Book Society, that had been then formed in Madras, for translating good books into Indian languages.

According to Munro's plan, which was ultimately approved by the Government, in every Collectorate there were to be two Collectorate schools, one for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims, under one or more teachers trained in various subjects at a Central School at Madras. In every Tahsildari there was to be a school under a competent schoolmaster. Candidates for the teachers' posts in the Tahsildari school were to be nominated by the respectable men of the locality, a provision which was specially designed to create local interest in education. The Tahsildari teachers were not to receive any training in Madras as the Collectorate teachers. The former were to be paid Rs. 9 and the latter Rs. 15 per mensem. Both were to be at liberty to give private tuition to any of their pupils and to receive fees in return, in addition to their salary. In the Collectorate schools English was to be taught, but it was to be taught only as one of the languages, along with the language of the district. In the Tahsildari schools the entire teaching was to be conducted in the Indian language. As to the other subjects, it does not appear that it was intended to teach in these schools any subjects which were different from those taught in the indigenous schools. The underlying object of the scheme was to establish a few well-managed efficient schools so as to hold them out as models for imitation to the numerous indigenous schools which were reported to be in a very unsatisfactory condition. [1] As a result of this one Collectorate and four Tahsildari schools were established in the Tanjore district. The Collectorate school was opened presumably at Nagapattinam which was then the Collector's headquarters and the Tahsildari schools were opened at Thiruvaiyar, Kumbakonam, Tiruvarur and Mannargudi. [2] But all these schools, in this as well as in other districts, soon proved complete failures. The teachers of the Collectorate schools were described as " the refuse of the expectants on the Collectors' list ", while the teachers of the Tahsildari schools were said to be " inferior, on the whole, to the common village masters." [3]

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[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pages 54–57, 64–67.

[2] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. 2. Papers relating to Public Instruction, 1855, page LXVI.

[3] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol .II, 1949, page 67.

About this time various theories began to be propounded in the field of education. The Court of Directors of the East India Company advocated in 1830 the theory known as the filtration theory of education, according to which the best results could be obtained by educating the higher classes in the first instance and leaving it to them to create a desire for education in the masses. They directed that "the higher orders" ought to be given instruction in English language and European literature and science and thereby trained to become fit persons for taking a larger share in the civil administration of the country. Then came the Anglo-Vernacular controversy, a controversy as to whether English or Indian languages should be given prominence in the scheme of education. It reached its climax in the famous minute of Lord Macaulay of 1835 and the equally famous Resolution of Lord William Bentinck dated 7th March 1835, which endorsed it and pronounced that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European Literature and Science," and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone. As a result of this policy the Collectorate and Tahsildari schools were abolished (1836), the Board of Instruction was superseded by a "Committee of Native Education" and the Committee was directed to organize a normal school for training teachers for the new English schools to be opened in the different parts of the State. This Committee was shortly afterwards replaced by the University Board constituted by Lord Elphinstone for the government of an institution to be styled as the Madras University which was to consist of a high school and a college. The high school was opened in April 1841, and the College in January 1853. In 1855 an Education Department was organized with Alexander Arbuthnot, Secretary to the University Board, as the Director of Public Instruction and under him were appointed four Inspectors of Schools, 20 Assistant (later called Deputy) Inspectors, and 20 Sub-Assistant Inspectors or Taluk Visitors. The Madras University was now re-modelled and received the name of the Presidency College. Provision was also now made for a normal school, four Provincial schools, eight zillah schools, 100 taluk schools, a depot for school books, some educational presses and Rs. 12,000 for scholarships. Some changes were subsequently made in this plan. Thus the full number of taluk schools was never established and in the place of some of these schools some higher grade schools known as the Anglo-Vernacular schools were opened. The Madras Normal School was supplemented by normal schools of a more elementary type in the districts. And the cause of elementary education was considerably advanced by the introduction of the grants-in-aid system by which private schools which came under Government departmental inspection were given grants. The first set of

rules governing grants was issued in 1855 and this was followed by other sets which gradually tended to absorb the indigenous schools into the public system.[1]

It was in this background that education began to make some progress in Tanjore. Of the four Provincial schools that were first started in this State, the Kumbakonam Provincial School became the most conspicuous. It was opened in October 1854 under the headmastership of Henry Fortey, a graduate of the University of Cambridge, who had obtained high honours on taking his degree. The course of instruction imparted in it in English consisted of "General geography, Elementary English and Indian history, arithmetic, Euclid, algebra, plane trignometry, mechanics, the elements of English literature, English composition and mensuration." Instruction in Tamil was confined to a grammatical study of the language and translations from and into English. The study of English literature was made gradually higher as the scholars advanced. Six classes were, in the first instance, opened and at the completion of the sixth standard the students were made to sit for the Matriculation Examination then conducted by the University. Three more classes were intended to be added in due course in order to convert the school into a college teaching up to the B.A. standard.

The school was thrown open to all classes and in the very first year it attracted a good number of students: 128 Brahmins, 34 other Hindus, 1 Harijan and 30 Christians. It was apprehended that caste considerations might stand in the way of the popularity of the school, but this apprehension was soon dispelled. From its very inception the school became exceedingly popular and maintained a very high place among the provincial schools. It was reported that there was a strong desire on the part of the parents to send their sons to the school; that an air of business pervaded the whole establishment indicating a general feeling of having assembled for an important work; that the boys accredited themselves very well at the examinations; and that the Reverend G. U. Pope, the renowned Tamil scholar himself took a keen interest in examining the students in Tamil. The school was converted into a second grade college (teaching up to F.A.) in 1864, raised to the rank of a first grade college (teaching up to B.A. degree) in 1868 and provided with a new building in 1869. Meanwhile, in 1862–1863, the people of Kumbakonam subscribed Rs. 1,000 and endowed a gold medal to be given to the student in the seniormost class who secured the first rank in general proficiency. This medal was called the Beauchamp Medal in honour of Mr. G. T. Beauchamp who

[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, page 73.
Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, 1877, pages 364–383.

had been lately the Civil and Sessions Judge of Tanjore. In 1869–1870, some University prizes were also founded by Sir T. Madhava Rao who was then the Diwan of Travancore.[1]

Besides the provincial school, the Government set up a Normal School at Mayuram in 1858–1859 and, when that was transferred to Tiruchirappalli in 1861–1862, opened an Anglo-Vernacular school in its place. They also opened in 1870, five taluk schools at Tiruvaiyar, Tiruvidaimarudur, Tiruvarur, Pattukkottai and Nagore. The Anglo-Vernacular school imparted instruction chiefly through the medium of English in subjects more or less similar to those taught in the Provincial school, but of a lower standard. The taluk schools imparted instruction, mostly in Tamil, in reading, writing, grammar, geography, Indian and general history, Tamil classics and elements of arithmetic, algebra, geometry and surveying. In addition to maintaining these schools, the Government began also gradually to introduce the system of grants-in-aid. Grants were given to such of the private schools as came under the inspection of the Education Department. In about 1870, there were 44 aided schools for boys and 14 for girls. Of these, 9 schools for boys and 2 for girls were run by the Gospel Society; 6 for boys and 2 for girls were managed by the Wesleyan Mission; 3 for boys and 2 for girls were managed by the German Lutheran Mission; 6 for boys and 3 for girls were supported by the Roman Catholic Mission; and 20 for boys and 5 for girls were controlled by the Hindu population. Of all these schools, the Tanjore High School belonging to the Gospel Society stood first in importance. It was, however, in reality a second grade college, as it coached students not only for the Matriculation examination but also for the F.A. Examination.[2]

Such was the state of education in Tanjore in 1871 when the Local Boards and Municipalities were constituted and made responsible for furthering the cause of elementary education. Under the Local Fund Act No. IV of 1871, all public schools were transferred to the local boards and made a charge upon local funds; and under the Towns Improvement Act No. III of 1871, the Municipalities were entrusted with the diffusion of education, with the construction and repair of school houses, the establishment and maintenance of schools either wholly or by grants-in-aid, as well as the inspection of schools and the training of teachers. The Local Boards Act V of 1884 and the District Municipalities Act IV of 1884, which superseded these Acts and created new local bodies, emphasized still more the duties of these bodies in the matter of primary education. The Local Boards Act made it the duty of the

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[1] Annual Administration Reports of the Department of Public Instruction for the years 1853–1854 to 1869–70.

[2] *Idem.*

District Boards and the Taluk Boards to diffuse education, and, with this end in view, to construct and repair school houses, to establish new schools and to maintain existing schools either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid, and also to provide for the inspection of schools and the training of teachers. The District Municipalities Act enjoined the municipalities to make provision, where possible, for the instruction in schools of all children of school-going age and for this purpose to maintain schools or to give grants-in-aid or to contribute towards the cost of Government schools. They were also required to provide for the inspection of schools, for the training of teachers and for the maintenance of public libraries, reading-rooms, gymnasiums, etc. All this time, the Government grants were also given to a large number of private educational institutions.

The effect of these measures soon began to be felt. The opening years of the twentieth century, for instance, revealed a marked advance in education in Tanjore. In 1901–1902, there were no less than 1,764 educational institutions in the district imparting instruction to no less than 61,390 scholars. No district in this State, save Tirunelveli, could boast of a larger number of educational institutions and only three districts, Tirunelveli, Madurai and Malabar could boast of a larger number of scholars. There were in the district 3 arts colleges, 19 upper secondary schools, 85 lower secondary schools and 1,564 primary schools for boys, 14 lower secondary and 72 primary schools for girls, 3 training schools for masters, 1 medical school and 3 technical industrial and arts schools. The percentage of total scholars to the total population of school-age was 18·2, a percentage which was exceeded only in Madras, Tirunelveli, the Nilgiris and Malabar.[1] The Government managed 11 institutions (either girls' schools or high class institutions) at a cost of Rs. 32,000, the local boards managed 153, all but 10 of which were primary schools, at a charge of Rs. 26,000, while the municipalities controlled 26 schools mostly of an elementary kind expending about Rs. 5,400. The various missionary bodies managed over 200 primary and secondary schools at a cost of over Rs. 62,000.[2] The district, moreover, had 553 indigenous schools imparting instruction to 11,581 pupils and 5 high class indigenous schools imparting instruction to 176 scholars.[3]

At this time, the missionary bodies controlled also two colleges in the district, the St. Peter's College at Tanjore and the Findlay College at Mannargudi. The St. Peter's College arose out of the high school belonging to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; it became a second grade college

[1] Report on Public Instruction for 1900–1901, Vol. II.
[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 162.
[3] Report on Public Instruction for 1900–1901, Vol. II.

in 1864 and a first grade college in 1874. The Findlay College at Mannargudi first came into existence about 1845 as a lower secondary school supported by the Wesleyan Mission. The college department which was originally attached to the Wesleyan High School at Nagapattinam and which was under the Reverend W. H. Findlay, its principal (after whom the college is named), was closed in 1895 and re-opened at Mannargudi in 1898. But both these colleges were easily outshone by the Government College at Kumbakonam. It produced a succession of brilliant men and sent them out to occupy high positions in Government service. V. P. Madhava Rao, the Diwan of Mysore, was an old student of this college. Under Mr. Porter, its principal, who was a distinguished mathematician, it earned the title of the "Cambridge of South India." It maintained its high reputation year after year, by bringing out excellent results at the F.A. and B.A. degree examinations.[1]

The two missionary colleges were, however. closed during this century. The B.A. classes were closed in St. Peter's College in 1906, the mission having shifted its attention to the Bishop Heber College at Tiruchirappalli. The Findlay College became a first grade college in 1919; but in 1931, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Commission on Christian Education, it closed the B.A. classes and in 1935, the Intermediate Classes also. The Government College, Kumbakonam, has continued to maintain its strength and reputation; in 1950–1951 its strength was 800 men and 32 women. It has also, in recent years, taken an active part in adult education.[2]

In the field of secondary education, the district has witnessed a remarkable expansion and, recently, some far-reaching changes. In 1911, in lieu of the Matriculation Examination conducted by the University, the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Examination conducted by a Government Board was introduced. Thereafter the Government began to grant more and more subsidies both to the schools maintained by the local boards and municipal councils and to the schools managed by private agencies. In 1923, they established an advisory board called the District Secondary Education Board in every district (save the Nilgiris). In 1928, they re-organized these Boards. In 1925, they gave perfect liberty to the managers of the schools to choose English or the language of the district as the medium of instruction in Forms IV, V and VI of a secondary school[3].

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[1] Gazetteer of the Vanjore District, Volume I, 1915, pages 164–166.
[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Volume II, 1933, pages 205–206.
Report on Public Instruction in Madras for 1932–1933, pages 47–48.
Idem for 1934–35, page 7.
Idem for 1950–1951, page 191.
[3] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 108–109.

But all these measures, beyond increasing the number of schools, contributed little to improve the quality of instruction or to turn out good citizens. It was left to the National Government in 1948 to chalk out a sound plan of secondary education. The various subjects of the school curriculum were drafted by specially constituted sub-committees and finalised after obtaining the opinion of the teaching profession, the public and the Board of Secondary Education.

The main feature of the scheme of re-organization in Forms I to III is the building up of the curriculum in correlation with several educative school activities with a main or basic craft as the chief among the activities. Handloom Weaving, Woodwork, Gardening and Agriculture are taken up as the basic crafts for boys and home craft as the basic craft for girls. Most of the general school activities are comprehended under citizenship training which has been introduced as a new subject in all these forms to be conducted formally upto Form IV and informally in the higher forms. Purpose and unity have been introduced in the subjects of History, Geography and Civics, integrating them into one subject under the head 'Social Studies.' The other subjects of the curriculum, viz., Languages, Mathematics, General Science, Physical Education and Religious or Moral Instruction continue to have their due and important place in the curriculum, but their teaching is now required to be practical and based upon life and activities of the pupils, more especially of the crafts which they practise in the school and which is expected to afford the necessary practical bias to the instruction. English is taught as Second Language from Form I.

The academic course leading to the University and the diversified courses comprising the Secretarial, the pre-technological, the aesthetic and domestic science courses are the main features of the scheme in Forms IV to VI.

The main object of the Scheme of Diversified courses in secondary schools is to provide a variety of courses, instead of the merely academic one, to suit the varied requirements of children of different aptitudes. Care has been taken to see that such students are not shut out from pursuing higher studies, if they so choose. Instruction in all subjects is now normally given not in English, as before, but in the regional languages, thereby lightening the burden of the pupils and giving a fillip to the study of the hitherto more or less neglected languages. Indeed, the language scheme has been adopted with a view to enabling students to study the regional language, the mother-tongue or a classical language and Hindi, besides English. The first language is the mother-tongue or the regional language, consisting of two parts, of which the study of Part I is compulsory while under Part II the students are permitted to study either the first language

or a classical or any other Indian language. The second language is English and this is compulsory, and the third language is Hindi which is optional, those who do not choose Hindi being allowed to learn an additional craft or approved activity. With a view to enabling teachers to get acquainted with the general principles of the re-organized scheme of studies and making them more efficient in the discharge of their duties, more especially in such subjects like crafts, citizenship, etc., courses were organised in Citizenship Training Home Science, and Home Craft and training in Museum Technique.

As a result of all this, the secondary schools have not only increased in number in Tanjore but have also begun to improve in quality. Among boys' schools, in 1950–1951, there were in the district 23 schools managed by the District Boards, 3 controlled by the Municipalities and 28 run by missionary and other private agencies imparting education on the whole to 34,455 boys and 2,574 girls. Among girls' schools, there were two Government schools, one District Board school, one Municipal school and five private schools, teaching on the whole 2,662 girls and 34 boys. It is interesting to note that out of the total male population of 14,67,494 no less than 31,912 boys attended public secondary schools in 1950 and 33,859 boys attended such schools in 1951, thereby giving a percentage of 2·3 of boys to the male population, a percentage which was exceeded in this State only in the districts of Madras, Tiruchirappalli and the Nilgiris. But, so far as the girls were concerned, out of the total population of 15,15,176 females, only 4,668 girls attended public schools in 1951, thereby giving a percentage of only 0·34 of girls to the female population. This percentage was exceeded in several districts, in Madras, in Madurai, in Tirunelveli, in Tiruchirappali, in Coimbatore, in the Nilgiris, in Malabar and in South Kanara. [1]

Elementary education has, under the impulsion of the various schemes undertaken by the Government, made even greater advance in Tanjore as well as in other districts in the present century. Until 1920 elementary education was left in the hands of the local boards, municipal councils, missions and other private agencies. In that year was passed the Madras Elementary Education Act (Act VIII of 1920) which introduced a number of changes. It created in each district a District Educational Council consisting of some members nominated by the Government and others elected by the local bodies, to prepare schemes for the extension of elementary education, to enlist the co-operation of all agencies, public as well as private, for that purpose, to regulate the recognition

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[1] Report on Public Instruction in Madras for 1950–1951, pages 184–185, 187–188.

of all elementary schools and to disburse all grants-in-aid from provincial funds to these schools and to advise the department of education generally in all matters connected with elementary education, including the provision of trained teachers. It provided for the levy, with the previous consent of the Government, of an educational tax, subject to the prescribed minimum, by the local bodies and, wherever the local bodies had levied such a tax, the contribution of an equal sum from the provincial funds in addition to the provincial subsidies usually made on behalf of elementary education. And, what is more, it provided for the introduction of compulsion in suitable areas with the previous sanction of the Government. About the same time, the District Municipalities Act and the Local Boards Act were revised and elementary education was completely removed from the purview of the District Boards and entrusted to the Taluk Boards and the Municipalities. In 1923, two conferences convened by the Government stressed the need for the gradual expansion of elementary education by establishing a school in every village with a population of over 500 inhabitants, by developing and improving existing indigenous schools and by requiring the local bodies to open new schools. In 1924, a special survey of elementary education was undertaken in all taluks of the State and as a result of this, liberal subsidies were given by the Government for the opening of a large number of schools in places hitherto unprovided with schools.[1]

Within a few years, however, this policy of expansion showed everywhere some serious defects. The indiscriminate growth of elementary schools led to much stagnation and wastage. In most schools, the boys were rarely retained up to the fifth standard to produce any real literacy among them ; in most schools, they stagnated for years in the first and second standards until their parents withdrew them from the schools altogether. In order to remedy this state of affairs, the Madras Elementary Education Act was amended and a modified form of compulsion was adopted, calculated not so much to ensure that every child entered a school, as to prevent the child who had entered a school from being removed from it within the period of school age. And, in order to make this compulsion effective, the chairmen of the municipal councils and the presidents of the newly reconstituted District Boards in the place of the Taluk Boards (which were abolished) were empowered to impose penalties on all parents who withdrew their children from schools, while they were of school age, in all areas wherein compulsory education had been introduced. Subsequently, this power was transferred to the District Educational Officers (1946). Various measures were also taken for eliminating ineffective and inefficient elementary

[1] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 110–111.

schools, and for establishing in their places well-equipped, complete schools with five standards so that the pupils enrolled in them might go through the full primary course and become permanently literate. In the meantime, the District Educational Councils were replaced by Taluk Advisory Councils in 1939, and the Taluk Advisory Councils were in turn abolished in 1941, and their duties entrusted to the Education Department. These measures have everywhere proved very successful; the percentage of pupils passing through the five classes has risen from 9·5 in the case of boys' schools and 9·9 in the case of girls' schools in 1937–1938 to 42·9 and 27·9 respectively in 1950–51. This is much above the 25 per cent aimed at by the department.[1]

While stagnation and wastage were considerably controlled, steps were taken to give a rural bias to elementary education which had all along remained mostly bookish and therefore divorced from practical life. The necessity of giving such a bias was stressed by Sir Meverel Statham, who afterwards became the Director of Public Instruction, as early as 1927. Some experiments were made thereafter, and finally a scheme was worked out and a proper syllabus was framed for that purpose in 1939–1940. According to this scheme, which is now in force, emphasis is laid on the teaching of the mother-tongue and on the teaching of handicrafts in the lower elementary standards and at least one pre-vocational subject in the higher elementary standards. Practical subjects of daily utility such as hygiene including home craft for girls, gardening and recreational subjects like music are made compulsory for all pupils in the lower elementary stage. Instruction is also imparted in Elementary Mathematics, History and Geography, Nature Study and Physical Training. Among the handicrafts and pre-vocational subjects are included, spinning and weaving, mat-making, bee-keeping, pottery, embroidery, lace-making, preserving and pickling, etc. Among the optional subjects are included English, first-aid, and a second language. Special steps have been taken to train teachers in the new syllabus by organizing refresher courses.[2]

With all these improvements the Tanjore district, in 1950–1951, had 1,895 elementary schools with 138,573 boys and 67,308 girls studying in them. Of these schools 155 were managed by the Government, 852 by the District Board, 96 by the Panchayat Boards, 88 by the Municipalities and 704

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1 See the Annual Reports on Public Instruction from 1933–34 to 1950–51,. Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 390–395. Madras in 1946, Part I, page 6.

2 Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 396–398.
Report on Public Instruction for 1939–40, pages 24–25.

by private agencies. The percentage of boys in classes I to V to the male population of the district in the age group 6–12 worked out at 62·4, a percentage which gave it the sixth rank in the State. That of girls to the female population was much less, being 30·3 which, however, gave the district the seventh rank in the State. It may be stated here that all villages, except five, with a population of more than 2,000 had one or more public schools; that out of 604 villages with a population of 1,000 to 2,000 persons, 548 villages had one or more schools; that out of 695 villages with a population of 500 to 1,000 persons, 561 villages had one or more schools; that out of 280 villages with a population of 200 to 500 persons 129 villages had one or more schools; and that out of 388 villages with a population of less than 200 persons, 29 villages had one or more schools. Compulsion for boys has been introduced in the municipalities of Mayuram and Nagapattinam and for both boys and girls in the Municipality of Kumbakonam. Compulsion has also been introduced in 78 centres in rural areas.[1] The distinction between boys' schools and girls' schools has been removed and all elementary schools have been converted into mixed schools open to boys and girls alike.[2]

A new orientation has recently been given to elementary education by the introduction of what is called the basic education. The idea underlying this system of education is that the children should learn by doing instead of merely learning about things from books, so as to develop in them initiative, enterprise and resourcefulness. Productive work is made the basis of learning. The children are taught basic crafts like spinning and weaving, and are made to take pleasure in producing things of utilitarian value. Personal and environmental cleanliness are given an important place in the curriculum. They are given a great deal of freedom in these schools, the teacher acting more like a friend than a disciplinarian. The aim of the Government is to convert, in course of time, every elementary school into a basic school and to provide at least one basic school for every village with a population of 500 or more. The chief difficulty has been that of training a sufficient number of teachers in this new method. In Tanjore in 1950–51, there were 26 basic schools with 1,985 boys and 709 girls studying in them. Of these 17 were District Board schools and 9 private schools.[3]

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[1] Report on Public Instruction for 1950–51—See the tables.

[2] Madras in 1949, Part I, page 49.

[3] G.O. No. 1474, Education, dated 8th July 1947.
G.O. No. 2536, Education, dated 26th April 1947.
Progress of Education in Madras State (Pamphlet), 1954, pp. 6–9.
Report on Public Instruction for 1948–49, pp. 4, 22–23.
Idem, for 1950–51—See tables.

Another new development is adult or social education. Until about 30 years ago nothing was being done for educating the adults who had not had the benefit of school education. Some attempts were from that time made to open night schools for adults by non-official agencies like the Y.M.C.A. with the object of producing literacy among adults. These night schools received some assistance from the Government but they failed to achieve any substantial results. It was not till the National Government came to power that something tangible was done and a definite scheme of adult education was sanctioned by the Government. In accordance with this scheme several measures have been undertaken in the *Satet*.

A special adult education officer has been appointed, as also some special propaganda deputy inspectors for conducting lectures and showing educational films with the help of mobile vans fitted with projectors, generators, loud-speakers and gramophone records. Many teachers have been trained for adult literacy work. Student volunteers have been persuaded to spend some weeks (40 days) in villages in order to disseminate general knowledge among the villagers and to instruct them through dramas, exhibitions, etc. A few rural colleges have also been opened for imparting higher education to such of the adults as had already received some education. A rural college for women was opened at Tanjore and it had a strength of 18 women in 1950–51[1]. A three-year course has been drawn up for the benefit of those adults who achieve literacy, with the object of making them able to read and understand the contents of a daily newspaper and a number of schools for adults have been opened. So far as the Tanjore district is concerned a night school had been run for some years by the students and staff of the Kumbakonam College even before the scheme was introduced. This school in 1948–49 had 91 adults studying in it. There were, moreover, in the district in 1950–1951, 78 adult schools with a strength of 1,861 men and 25 women.

The district has also a number of elementary schools mainly intended for Scheduled Castes or the Harijans. The various educational concessions granted to the Harijans have already been described in the chapter on Welfare Schemes. It may, however, be noted here that there were in 1950–51 no less than 133 Government, 31 District Board, 7 Municipal and 70 schools under private management for scheduled castes

[1] Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, 1947, pages 403–404.

Progress of Education in Madras State (Pamphlet), 1954, pages 9–15.

Report on Public Instruction for 1948–49 and 1950–51.

G.O. No. 846, Education, dated 9th April 1948.

G.O. No. 1401, Education, dated 1st May 1950.

imparting instruction to 12,908 boys and 5,842 girls.[1] The district has also some training schools, industrial schools, commercial schools, arts and crafts schools and certified schools. In 1950–51 there were 2 ordinary training schools for men, 1 ordinary training school for women, 3 basic training schools for men, 1 basic training school for women, 3 industrial schools, 30 commercial schools, 2 arts and crafts schools and 2 junior certified schools for boys, one at Tanjore and the other at Tiruchitrambalam.[2]

The district has, in addition, 3 Oriental Colleges, one for the study of Sanskrit and Tamil at Thiruvaiyar and two for the study of Tamil, of which one is at Tanjore and the other is at Tiruppanandal, and one oriental elementary school for the study of Sanskrit at Kolathur.[3] Of these institutions the most ancient is the Thiruvaiyar College. It is maintained by the District Board out of the Raja's Chatram funds. It arose out of the several patasalas for teaching the Vedas and religion established by the Maharashtra Rajas of Tanjore at Orattanad, Nidamangalam, Rajamadam, Mimisal and Vilangulam where the scholars were fed and clothed and supplied with books free. It was raised to the status of a college for oriental studies in 1910 and it trains students for the university courses in Mimamsa, Nyaya, Vyakarana, Sahitya Siromani and Vidwan with Sanskrit and Tamil or with Tamil alone. Originally intended for Brahmins alone, it has now been thrown open to all Hindus. Besides these institutions, there are also some unaided schools for the teaching of Sanskrit and Arabic.

To give an over-all picture of education and literacy in the district, Tanjore had in 1950–51, 2,119 educational institutions imparting instruction to 181,116 males and 73,726 females out of a total population of 1,467,494 males and 1,515,176 females. The percentage of scholars to population worksout to 12·3 in the case of males and 4·9 in the case of females, and 8·5 in the case of both males and females. The percentage of male scholars to the male population is considerably high, being exceeded only in four districts, namely, Madras, Tirunelveli, Malabar and South Kanara. The percentage of female scholars to the female population is, however, lower, being exceeded in seven districts, namely, Madras, Chingleput, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, the Nilgiris, Malabar and South Kanara. In the percentage of total scholars to the total population Tanjore takes the sixth rank.[4] As to literacy, it is 36·5 per cent among males and 10·3 per cent among females. The percentage for males

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[1] Report on Public Instruction for 1950–51, page 204.
[2] *Idem*-page 46 and the tables.
[3] 1951 Census Handbook, Tanjore District, pages 12–13.
[4] Report on Public Instruction for 1950–51, pages 152–153.

must be considered high when compared with other districts; for it is exceeded only by Madras (61·4), Malabar (41·4) and Tirunelveli (38·3). The percentage for females must be considered fair being exceeded only by Madras (38·0), Malabar (21), South Kanara (14·8), Tirunelveli (13·8) and the Nilgiris (12·1).[1]

Until 1950–51 there was only one District Educational Officer in charge of the entire district. In that year the district was bifurcated for educational purposes and two District Educational Officers were appointed, one for East Tanjore with headquarters at Nagapattinam and the other for West Tanjore with headquarters at Tanjore. These officers look after all schools except girls' schools which are under the charge of an Inspectress of Girls' Schools who has her headquarters at Tanjore. Besides these officers, there are also the Principal and the Lecturers of the Government College, Kumbakonam, in the Madras Educational Service, the Headmaster of the Government Basic Training School, Tanjore, and a number of Deputy Inspectors of Schools and other subordinate officers in the Subordinate Service working under the administrative control of the Director of Public Instruction.

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[1] Census of India, 1951, Madras and Coorg, Part I, pages 209–210.

CHAPTER XIV.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

Local Administration in the Tanjore district began with the passing of the Towns Improvement Act X of 1865 and the Local Funds Act IV of 1871. The first Act created the Municipalities, the second the Local Fund Boards, which subsequent legislation has changed into the present District Boards and the Panchayats. Legislation altering and enlarging the nature and scope of the Municipalities and the Local Boards has gone hand in hand almost ever since 1871, but for the sake of clarity we may first deal with the growth of the Local Boards and then with the development of the Municipalities.

The Local Funds Act of 1871, which created for the first time Local Bodies in rural areas, had its origin in the desire of the Government to provide a sound elementary education to the masses. Ever since the policy of expanding the scheme of elementary education had been accepted in the middle of the last century, the Government had found it difficult to provide adequate funds for that purpose from State revenues. In 1863 an Education Cess Act (Act IV of 1863) had been passed for enabling the inhabitants of a locality to tax themselves for the upkeep of schools, but this Act had been introduced only in a few districts (Tanjore was not one among them) and even there it had failed completely to achieve its objects. By 1870 it was realized that it was impossible for the Government to bear the entire burden of elementary education, that some effective machinery had to be devised to make it, as far as possible, a direct charge on the people. It was also realized that it was equally impossible for the Government to bear the burden of the construction and repair of roads all over the State without obtaining some local assistance and co-operation. In 1866 a District Road Cess Act (Act III of 1866) had been passed for authorizing the levy of a cess of half anna in the rupee on the rent value of occupied land for the construction and maintenance of local roads. It was considered that this Act could, with advantage, be clubbed with the new Act proposed for constituting the Local Boards. The same new Act, it was also considered, could be made to provide for sanitation and medical aid, the two long felt but long neglected wants of the people.[1]

The Local Boards Act of 1871 which provided for all these objects divided the whole State into a number of circles and

[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, 1885 by C. D. Maclean, footnote on pages 638–640.

Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1877, by C. D. Maclean, pages 207–208.

constituted in each of these circles a Local Fund Board consisting of 3 or more non-official members nominated by the Government and an equal number (but not more) of official members appointed by the Government. The term of office of the members was to be three years. The non-official members were to be chosen from among owners or occupiers of land or persons carrying on business or residing in a circle. The Collector of the District was made ex-officio president of each board situated within his jurisdiction. The Act repealed the District Road Cess Act of 1866 and the Education Cess Act of 1863 and the existing funds and the charges appertaining to local roads and to schools were transferred to the newly constituted local funds. The Act also provided for the imposition of a cess similar to the district road cess but with a maximum of one anna in the rupee for the establishment of tolls upon roads and for the levy of a house-tax. Two-thirds of the cess and the whole of the tolls were made applicable exclusively to roads and communications and the house-tax was made applicable to schools and it was to be imposed only in villages in which schools existed or were about to be established. The house-tax, however, having become very unpopular, was discontinued from 1873–1874. The local funds were made applicable for the maintenance of roads and communications; for the upkeep of schools either wholly or by grants-in-aid; for the construction and repair of hospitals, choultries, markets, tanks and wells; for the training and employment of vaccinators and sanitary inspectors; and for the cleansing of roads, streets, tanks, etc. The Act also provided for the transfer, to the Local Fund Board, of public dispensaries, choultries, tanks, etc., endowed and unendowed; for vesting the endowments in the board, and for enabling the Board of Revenue which was vested with the supervision of Local Boards, to transfer to the Local Fund Board the powers of control over charitable endowments conferred by Regulation VII of 1817.[1]

This Act was introduced in Tanjore in the very year in which it was passed (1871). The district was divided into two circles, named Tanjore and Nagapattinam, and in each of these circles a Local Fund Board was constituted with the Collector of the district as the president. The Local Fund Board of Tanjore consisted of 14 members, including the president, of whom 7 were official and 7 non-official members. Among the officials, two were the Revenue Divisional Officers of the Tanjore and Mannargudi divisions, two were officers of the Public Works Department and two others the Deputy Inspector of Schools and the Zillah Surgeon. The vice-president was appointed from among the non-official members.

[1] See the provisions of Madras Act IV of 1871 in the *Fort St. George Gazette.*

The Local Fund Board of Nagapattinam consisted of 7 nonofficial and 5 official members. One of the officials acted as vice-president. In both the circles, roads, education, sanitation and medical institutions were transferred to the Local Fund Boards and made a charge upon local funds. It is interesting to observe that, when the Act was introduced, the non-official members of the Tanjore Local Board were said to have evinced little interest in local affairs, complaining that "after all, their functions were more nominal than real."[1]

But the wheel of Juggernauth had been set in motion; and local self-government gradually gathered momentum and made steady progress in the subsequent years. In 1884 it was felt necessary to widen its field and to increase its efficiency by increasing the powers and augmenting the strength of the non-official element of the local bodies. The Local Boards Act V of 1884 was accordingly passed for repealing Act IV of 1871 and constituting new local bodies. By this Act the control over the local boards exercised by the Board of Revenue under section 71 of Act IV of 1871 was assumed by the Government and the administration of local affairs was vested in a single District Board constituted for each revenue district consisting of a president and not less than 24 members who might all be appointed by the Government or might be partly so appointed and partly elected by the members of the newly created Taluk Boards from among their own members or, in any part of the district where there was no Taluk Board, by the Union Boards (another set of newly created local bodies), and by the tax-payers of the rural parts of the district. The members were to hold office for three years. All Revenue Divisional Officers were made ex-officio members. The proportion of the official members was reduced from one-half to one-fourth of the total strength. Under the old Act the Local Fund Board had no powers to levy taxes on its own authority but could only administer the funds raised on its behalf by the Government. Under the new Act the local boards were empowered to levy with the approval of the Government any of the taxes authorized by the Act. Under the old Act the Collector, as has been seen, was to act as the president of the Local Fund Board. Under the new Act the president of the District Board might be elected from among the members of the District Board, if the Government so directed.

The Taluk Boards were formed for each taluk or group of taluks consisting of a president with not less than 12 members who might either all be appointed by the Government or partly so appointed and partly elected from among the members

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1. Board of Revenue Proceedings, dated 25th June 1873, pages 3353–3361 of the printed proceedings volume.

of the Union Boards or elected by the tax-payers of the taluk, one-third of the members being officials. The term of office of the members was fixed at three years. The Taluk Board's jurisdiction then coinciding with the Revenue Divisional Officer's jurisdiction, that officer was made the ex-officio member and president of the Board. The Taluk Board's funds consisted of one-half of the proceeds of the tax levied by the District Board in the Taluk Board's area and transferred to it by the District Board and other fees collected within the area of the Taluk Board, such as licence fees for markets, etc. The District Board might, with the approval of the Government, or should, at their direction, transfer any other sums from its funds to the Taluk Board.

The revenues of the District Board and the Taluk Boards were derived from a tax not exceeding two annas in the rupee on the annual rent value of all occupied lands in certain districts and not exceeding one anna in the rupee in certain other districts including Tanjore; from a railway cess of three pies in the rupee on an annual rent value of lands; from tolls; and from fees for the use of cart-stands, markets, slaughter houses, etc. The duties and responsibilities of the District Board and the Taluk Boards were declared to be the maintenance of roads, bridges and other means of communications; the construction and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, etc.; the diffusion of education and for that purpose the construction and repair of school-houses, the training of teachers, etc.; the enforcement of measures relating to sanitation and public health; the establishment and maintenance of relief works in times of famine and scarcity; and the adoption of other acts of local public utility.

The Union Boards were constituted for single villages or groups of villages called Unions, the members consisting of not less than 5 persons, the headmen of the villages constituting the Union being ex-officio members. One of these headmen was to be appointed chairman. Members other than village headmen were to be either all appointed by the Government or partly so appointed and partly elected by the taxpayers. Their term of office was to be three years. The resources of the Union Boards were to consist of the proceeds of a house-tax levied in the Union varying from 4 annas to 5 rupees according to the classification of the house and any other sums placed at the disposal of the union by the Taluk Board. The duties and responsibilities of the Union Boards were declared to be the lighting of the public roads, the cleaning of public roads, drains, wells and other public places, the establishment and maintenance of dispensaries and schools, the making and repairing of roads and drains, the constructing and repairing of tanks and wells and generally doing such

things as might be necessary for the preservation of public health.[1]

It took a couple of years to introduce this Act in the Tanjore district (1885–1887). When it was introduced, the District Board consisted of 32 members of which 8 were officials and 24 non-officials, all appointed by the Government. Its strength was subsequently ordered to be increased to 48 by the addition of 16 more members elected by the Taluk Boards. Five Taluk Boards were first formed, namely, those of Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam, Mannargudi and Pattukkottai and later a sixth Taluk Board was added, namely, that of Mayuram. Each of these boards covered one or more revenue taluks and consisted of 5 official and 10 non-official members. Eighteen Union Boards were formed in the first instance, each covering two or more villages and consisting of 15 members. More Union Boards were formed subsequently so that by 1920 their number rose to 31. The District Board levied a land-cess of one anna in the rupee on the rent value of the lands, three-fourths of which was devoted to general purposes and one-fourth reserved for guaranteeing railway extensions in the district. Its other revenues consisted of tolls, choultry rents, fishery rents, school fees, provincial contributions for education, choultries, hospitals and dispensaries and contributions from special funds like the pound fund and the canal and ferry fund. All these revenues were spent generally on public works like roads and buildings, on secondary and elementary schools, on hospitals and dispensaries, on vaccination and sanitation and on choultries and travellers' bungalows. The revenues of the Taluk Boards were derived from a moiety of the land-cess levied by the District Board school fees, choultry rents, fishery rents, contributions from State funds for education and choultries and allotment from District Board funds. They were expended on choultries, taluk and village roads, schools, dispensaries, sanitation and chatrams. The revenues of the Union Boards were derived from house-tax, miscellaneous fees for cart-stands, etc., and contributions from Taluk Boards and these were spent on sanitation and schools. The total revenues of the District Board, the Taluk Boards and the Union Boards amounted, for instance, in 1887-1888, to Rs. 4,67,538, Rs. 2,21,579 and Rs. 20,516 respectively and their total expenditure, in the same year, amounted to Rs. 4,59,130, Rs. 1,57,159 and Rs. 17,939 respectively. For some years even these new boards, save the Union Boards, failed to evoke sufficient enthusiasm among the people. Very few of the non-official members took any real interest in local affairs or attended the meetings

[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1885, by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, pages 638–651 and footnotes on pages 641–642.
Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 11–13.
See the provisions of Madras Act V of 1884 in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

regularly. A number of meetings had to be postponed for want of quorum and the Government contemplated the removal of the absentee members and their replacement by other members. The Union Boards alone worked satisfactorily.[1]

The next important milestone in local administration came with the passing of the Local Boards Act V of 1920 and the Village Panchayats Act XV of 1920, the Local Boards Amendment Act VI of 1900 having made only some minor amendments to the Act of 1884. By this time, however, much water had flowed under the bridge; political agitation had come, and people had become more and more interested in local self-Government. The Royal Commission on Decentralization had also suggested the enlargement of the powers of the local bodies. The Local Boards Act of 1920 which was consequently passed gave an independent status to each class of the Local Boards and increased not only their strength but also their proportion of elected members, their resources and their powers. The strength of the District Board was raised to a maximum of 52 and a minimum of 24 members, that of the Taluk Board to a maximum of 24 and a minimum of 12 members and that of the Union Board to a maximum of 15 and a minimum of seven members. The proportion of elected members in all these boards was fixed at not less than three-fourths of the total strength, the remaining members being appointed by the Government in the case of the District Boards, by the president of the District Board in the case of the Taluk Boards and by the president of the Taluk Boards in the case of the Union Boards. The term of office of the members of the Local Boards was fixed as three years. The Collector ceased to be the president of the District Board and the Revenue Divisional Officer ceased to be either the president or even a member of the Taluk Board. The president of the District Board could be elected by the members of the District Board or appointed by the Government; but the presidents of the Taluk Boards and the Union Boards could only be elected. The presidents of the Taluk Boards became ex-officio members of the District Boards. The taxation powers of all the three boards were enlarged to increase their resources and each board was allowed to raise the authorized taxes separately. In addition to the obligatory land-cess of one anna in the rupee of rent value of lands shared equally by the District Board and the Taluk Boards, these boards were given the option of levying an additional land-cess up to a maximum of 3 pies in the rupee. The railway-cess was abolished, but three new taxes, the profession tax, the companies tax and the pilgrim tax, were authorized to be levied by all the three boards. The method of levying

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[1] G.O. No. 2137, Local, dated 11th November 1887.
G.O. No. 2129, Local, dated 12th November 1888.

the house-tax by the Union Boards which was defective under the old Act was modified to make the levy just and proportionate to the capital or rental value of the buildings. The Local Boards were morever given a free hand in framing their budgets. Provision was made for the appointment of a District Board Engineer and a District Health Officer and for the enforcement of sanitary and public health measures. The Local Boards thus became more or less autonomous and the Collector and the Government were empowered to interfere only in case of emergency and mal-administration. In order to inspect and superintend all the operations under the Local Boards Act, an officer called the Inspector of Local Boards who was also the Inspector of Municipal Councils was also appointed.[1]

About this time was passed the Madras Elementary Education Act VIII of 1920 which made it obligatory on the Taluk Boards and the Municipalities to levy an education-tax for the purposes of expanding elementary education, and on the Government to contribute a sum equal to that realized by the cess. When the Taluk Boards were abolished subsequently in 1934, the duty of levying the cess and running the schools devolved upon the District Board.

Meanwhile, on the introduction of the Local Boards Act in the Tanjore District in April 1921, the District Board was reconstituted and its strength was increased from 42 to 45. In the very next year the Taluk Boards too were reconstituted, the existing six Taluk Boards being increased to eight by the bifurcation of the Nagapattinam Taluk Board into the Nagapattinam and Nannilam Taluk Boards and of the Mannargudi Taluk Board into the Mannargudi and the Tiruthuraipundi Taluk Boards. As to the Union Boards, when they were reconstituted in 1922–1923, they were reduced from 31 to 24, the inefficient boards being eliminated[2]. The revenues of all the Local Boards increased very considerably under the new Act. Thus, for instance, in 1923-1924, the revenues of the District Board amounted to Rs. 12,47,478, those of the eight Taluk Boards to Rs. 4,09,855 and those of 24 Union Boards to Rs. 89,327, making the total revenues of all the boards amount to no less than Rs. 17,47,660.[3] There was now an all-round improvement. The attendance of the non-official members became more regular and this showed in an unmistakable manner the greater interest evinced by the people in local administration.[4]

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[1] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, page 13.

[2] G.O. No. 551, Local and Municipal, dated 6th March 1923.
G.O. No. 979, Local and Municipal, dated 11th April 1924.

[3] G.O. No. 664, Local and Municipal, dated 25th February 1925.

[4] See e.g., G.O. No. 979, Local and Municipal, dated 11th April 1924, page 5.

The Government, at the same time, began to assist the local boards in various ways. They began to give grants for the maintenance of roads and schools; they began to take over the management of headquarters hospitals; they began to provide District Engineers and District Health Officers for each District Board; they began to take over the veterinary institutions and they organized a separate audit department for auditing local fund accounts.[1]

Meanwhile, soon after the Local Boards Act was introduced, the Village Panchayats Act was passed. Informal village panchayats constituted on a voluntary basis had already, by 1915, come into existence in several districts for looking after village forests, village conservancy and village water-supply. These were doing useful work but were handicapped by not having any legal sanction for levying taxes or enforceing their decisions. It was now considered that the time had come to remove the handicaps of the existing panchayats, to constitute new panchayats and to place all the panchayats on a statutory basis. The Village Panchayats Act XV of 1920, which was accordingly passed, authorized the constitution of panchayats in rural areas (where there were no Union Boards) for the administration of village affairs by the villages themselves. The panchayat was to be entirely an elective body consisting of not less than seven and not more than 15 members. Its election was to be held once in three years. There was to be no property restriction in the franchise; all residents of the village who were not less than 25 years of age were to be entitled to vote and to be elected as members of the panchayat. The absence of property qualification gave opportunities to the members of the depressed classes and in most villages the voters elected members of their own community on the panchayats. The functions of the panchayats were defined to be the construction and maintenance of village roads, culverts and bridges; the lighting of streets and public places; the construction of drains and the disposal of drainage water and sullage; the cleaning of streets, the removal of rubbish, etc., the provision of public latrines; the maintenance of burning ghats and burial grounds; the construction and repair of wells, ponds and tanks for the supply of water for drinking, washing and bathing purposes; the control of cattle-sheds, threshing floors, chatrams, village pounds, etc., the extension of village sites; the enforcement of vaccination and the registration of births and deaths. The District or Taluk Board within the jurisdiction of which a panchayat was constituted was, in addition, authorized to empower the panchayat to exercise other functions such as the construction and control of markets, the provision of sanitation during festivals, the control of fairs and fisheries, the planting and preservation of avenue

[1] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 16.

trees, the establishment and maintenance of elementary schools and the provision of medical relief. And the Government were authorized to transfer to a panchayat, village forests or village irrigation works or any other village works or institutions.

The Act placed no specific resources at the disposal of the panchayat, but it enabled the panchayat, with the sanction of the Government, to levy a tax on the capital value of the buildings situated in the village; a profession tax; fees for cattle stands, threshing floors, village sites, cart-stands, markets and slaughter houses; fees for the occupation of choultries, chatrams and rest-houses; fees for the cleansing of private latrines, fees for quarrying and excavation, and fees for the permits for grazing or the removal of fuel or other forest produce. The panchayat was also enabled to levy any other suitable taxes or fees approved by the Government. The Government reserved to themselves the right of suspension or cancellation of the proceedings of the panchayat and of the dissolution of the panchayat itself in case it abused its powers. The Inspector of Local Boards and Municipal Councils was also appointed as the Registrar-General of Panchayats and placed in direct charge of the panchayats in the State. It may be mentioned here that State aid to panchayats was started since 1925–1926 and that it took the shape of grants for panchayat libraries, grants for elementary schools and grants for the improvement of village communications and water-supply.[1]

In Tanjore the Act was introduced in 1921–1922. Here as elsewhere, the panchayats were organized mostly with the help of the presidents of Taluk Boards and other honorary workers. It was no easy task to overcome the apathy of the villagers in village affairs, they having for over a century come to look to the Government for everything. Nor was it an easy task to overcome the opposition of vested interests, both official and non-official[2]. However, the panchayats were gradually organized; in 1923 they numbered only 13,[3] but by 1930, they numbered 306.[4] Of these only about half the number were functioning efficiently; the rest were inactive either for want of proper guidance or for want of proper supervision. Their revenues in 1930 amounted to Rs. 80,724, comprising Rs. 6,188 from taxes, fees, etc., Rs. 32,608 from Government grants and Rs. 41,928 from other receipts. A few of them levied a house-tax, a fewer still a profession tax, and some of them levied kudimaramath fees from villagers either in money or in kind, according to the extent of land

[1] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 14–15.
[2] G.O. No. 2645, Local and Municipal, dated 22nd June 1926.
[3] G.O. No. 107, Local and Municipal, dated 10th January 1924.
[4] G.O. No. 2382, Local and Municipal, dated 20th June 1932.

possessed by each. They spent their revenues mostly on roads, schools, sinking of wells, deepening of tanks and sanitation and lighting.[1]

The position created by the Local Boards Act and the Village Panchayats Act of 1920 was modified in some respects and improved by the Local Boards Amendment Act XI of 1930. This Act repealed the Village Panchayats Act, brought the village panchayats within the scope of the local boards and, at the same time, converted the union boards into panchayats, or as they are sometimes called, panchayat boards. It rearranged the Taluk Board areas making them normally conterminous with the Revenue taluks. It declared that all members of every local board, whether a District Board, a Taluk Board or a Panchayat Board, were to be elected, but that seats were to be reserved in these boards for certain communities and women. It laid down that the members of the District Board were to be chosen by direct election. It extended the franchise of local boards to every person who was assessed to any tax payable to the local board, or to any other local authority or to the local Government or to the Government of India. It made all offices of the presidents of the local boards elective and provided for the provincialization of the services under the local boards. It modified the provisions relating to taxes and tolls, fixed the land-cess at one and a half anna in the rupee of the rent value of the lands, and allotted one-third of the proceeds of the cess to the District Boards, another one-third to the Taluk Boards, one-sixth to the Panchayat Boards and one-sixth to the Village Development Fund. It provided for votes of no-confidence in presidents and vice-presidents, for the suppression of panchayats by the local Government, and for the adjudication of disputes between local authorities by the Government themselves, or by an arbitrator, a board of arbitrators or joint committees appointed by the Government. It empowered the presidents of the District Boards and Taluk Boards to exercise control over the affairs of the panchayats. Finally, it provided for the appointment of a District Panchayat Officer and for the formation of a Village Development Fund.[2]

The changes subsequently made in local administration can, with a single exception, be easily described. The levy of tolls and tax on motor vehicles by local boards was abolished consequent on the passing of the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act III of 1931, the boards being compensated out of the proceeds of the tax levied by the Government under the Act.[3] All Taluk Boards were abolished in 1934,

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[1] G.O. No. 2382, Local and Municipal, dated 20th June 1932.
[2] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931 by G. T. Boag, 1933, pages 15–16.
See the provisions of Madras Act XI of 1930 in the *Fort St. George Gazette.*
[3] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 17.

their assets, liabilities and main functions being taken over by the District Boards. The Village Development Fund was also abolished and its resources were placed at the disposal of the District Boards.[1] Rules were framed for the appointment of Electrical Engineers, Additional District Board Engineers and District Panchayat Officers.[2] Relevant portions of the electoral rolls of the Legislative Assembly were ordered to be adopted as electoral rolls of the local bodies.[3] Presidents and vice-presidents removed by the Government were debarred from standing for election for these offices again for a period of six months, except when there was a general election.[4] Persons who were in arrears to local boards were disqualified from standing for election and members who were in arrears were made liable to be removed from office.[5] Powers were taken by the Government to become ultimate authorities in all disputes between local boards,[6] to supersede District Boards for a maximum period of three years[7], as well as to resume control over endowments transferred to the District Boards.[8] Provision was made for the appointment of Executive Officers for the Panchayats and the duties and powers of these officers were defined.[9] The Collector was empowered to appoint a member of the local board to exercise the duties of a president or a vice-president in cases in which the latter failed to discharge his duties.[10] Land-cess was raised from one and a half annas to two annas per rupee of the annual rent value of all occupied land and the additional cess so raised was given entirely to the District Boards.[11] The Local Boards were authorized to levy a surcharge on stamp duty payable under the Indian Stamp Act of 1899 in respect of the instruments of sale, gift, mortgage with possession and transfers by way of exchange and lease in perpetuity of immovable property.[12] Roads of military and other importance were transferred from the District Boards to the Highways Department[13]. Some of these changes, it is clear, were designed to control the infiltration of politics into the local bodies and to tide over any local opposition that might be created during the war period. Others were intended to improve the finances and increase the usefulness of the local bodies.

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[1] Madras Administration Report for 1933–1934, page XXVI.
[2] *Idem* for 1938–1939, page 5.
[3] *Idem* for 1937–1938, page 6.
[4] Madras Administration for 1939–1940, page 4.
[5] Madras in 1940, page 4.
[6] Madras in 1941, page 2.
[7] *Idem* page 2.
[8] Madras in 1941, page 4.
[9] *Idem* page 5.
[10] Madras in 1944, page 2.
[11] Madras in 1945, page 4.
[12] *Idem* page 5.
G.O. No. 144, Legal, dated 26th May 1950.
Madras in 1950, page 6.
[13] Madras in 1946, pages 5–6.

The only far-reaching change that has been recently introduced and that demands a fuller description is the passing of the Village Panchayats Act X of 1950. From about 1940 it became increasingly clear that the dual control exercised over the panchayats by the president of the District Board and the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards was not only unsatisfactory but ineffective. The Adviser Government thought that the best way to rectify matters was to exclude the panchayats from the scope of the Madras Local Boards Act and to place them in charge of the District Collectors, and for this purpose they enacted Act XII of 1946. This Act was, however, not brought into operation and was allowed to lapse as the National Government, which succeeded the Adviser Government, wanted to introduce a more comprehensive legislation which would make the panchayats really autonomous. They wanted also to invest the panchayats with powers under the Village Courts Act of 1888 and the Indian Registration Act of 1908.[1] They therefore introduced fresh legislation and passed the Village Parchayats Act of 1950.

Under this Act a panchayat is compulsorily to be formed in every village with a population of 500 and above and where the population is less than 500, one or more villages have to be clubbed to form a panchayat. Panchayats having a population of 5,000 and above and an annual income of Rs. 10,000 are to be classified as Class I panchayats and others as Class II panchayats. Every panchayat is to have not less than five and not more than 15 members, and all members are to be elected, but seats are to be reserved for scheduled castes for a period of ten years. The term of office of the members is to be three years, and franchise is to be exercised by all adults as in the case of the Legislative Assembly. No village officer or an officer under the Government or a local board can be elected as a member. The president of the panchayat is to be elected by the entire electorate but the vice-president is to be elected by the members of the panchayat. Executive officers may be appointed by the Government, where necessary, by notification. The executive officer is to carry out the resolutions passed by the panchayat but, where the president thinks that any resolution is in excess of the powers of the panchayat, or is likely to endanger human life or health or public safety, the executive officer is to refer the matter to the Government whose decision is to be final. The Government may dissolve or reconstitute a panchayat if it fails to discharge its duties, while the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards may suspend or cancel a resolution or remove a president, a vice-president or a member, in case of misconduct.

[1] G.O. No. 105, Legal, dated 7th June 1949, page 71.

It is obligatory upon every panchayat to provide, within the limits of its funds, for the construction and repair of roads, bridges, culverts, drains, etc., for the lighting of public places, for the cleaning of streets, the removal of rubbish, etc., for the construction of public latrines and the maintenance of burning ghats and burial grounds; for the sinking or repairing of wells or tanks for drinking, washing and bathing purposes; and for the carrying out of preventive and remedial measures connected with epidemics or malaria. A panchayat may also make provision for the planting of avenues, for the opening of public markets and slaughter-houses; for the control of fairs and festivals; for the extension of village sites and regulation of buildings; for the improvement of agriculture and agricultural stock; for the promotion of cottage industries; for the opening and maintenance of elementary schools, reading-rooms and libraries; for the establishment of wireless receiving-sets, play-grounds, sports clubs and centres of physical culture; for the running of dispensaries and maternity and child-welfare centres; for the rendering of veterinary aid and for the undertaking of any other measures of public utility.

Every panchayat is required to levy a house-tax, a profession tax, a vehicle tax and a duty on certain transfers of property. It may also, with the permission of the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards, levy a land-cess at the rate of 3 pies in the rupee on the rent value of all occupied lands, a tax on agricultural land and fees on commercial crops bought and sold in the village. Every Class II panchayat is also entitled to a share of the 12½ per cent total land revenue collected in the State and set apart by the Government for assisting Class II panchayats. In addition to these sources of revenue the panchayats receive pilgrim tax, tolls and ferries and fishery rents, market fees, and contributions from the District Board for elementary education.

The panchayats are vested with control over all unreserved forests in the villages, all village roads, all irrigation works not under the Public Works Department, and all water-courses, springs, tanks and communal property in the villages. They may also be vested with control over charitable endowments and empowered to execute kudimaramath works by levying fees for that purpose. Nor is this all. All panchayats enjoy the powers of the panchayat courts under the Village Courts Act of 1889, their pecuniary jurisdiction being increased from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 and such of them as do not possess Sub-Registrars' offices may be authorized to exercise also certain functions performed by the Sub-Registrars under the Indian Registration Act of 1908. The District Boards are to have no longer any control over the panchayats, nor are the Collectors to have any, except in cases of emergency. The

working of the panchayats is to be supervised by the Inspector of Municipal Councils and Local Boards and the officers under him.[1]

This Act which enlarged alike the powers, the resources and the responsibilities of the panchayats was, however, not brought into operation in 1950, the year with which this book closes. It was brought into operation in this State only on 1st April 1951.[2] Till 1950 therefore the panchayats continued to remain under the District Board in Tanjore as elsewhere under the provisions of the Local Boards Act of 1920 as amended by the Local Boards Act of 1930. We have already seen the position created by the Local Boards Act of 1920 in Tanjore until the passing of the amending Act of 1930. It remains now to review the position in the district created by the legislation passed since 1930. The Taluk Boards in Tanjore were abolished in 1934 and their assets, liabilities and main functions were transferred to the District Board. But, as the Government considered that the District Board was unable to cope with the increased work, they bifurcated the board into two District Boards, one called the East Tanjore District Board with headquarters at Nagapattinam, and the other called the West Tanjore District Board with headquarters at Tanjore.[3] The District Board protested against this measure on the ground that it would increase the expenditure and lead to much administrative inconvenience, but the Government ignored this protest. The bifurcation, however, was short-lived. As soon as the Congress Ministry came to power, they amalgamated the two boards and restored the original position (1938).[4] Then came the Second World War when no District Board elections were held, the term of the District Board being extended from year to year. In November 1946, on the accession of the National Government, the District Board was dissolved and the Collector was appointed as the Special Officer pending fresh elections[5]. It was only in 1949[6] that the District Board elections were held and a fresh District Board was constituted. It began to function from September 1949.

An idea of the District Board administration in general in Tanjore at the time at which we close our book (1950) can best be obtained by looking into some of the details of the working of the new District Board in 1949–50. It then consisted of

[1] G.O. No. 223, Legal, dated29th July 1950.
Madra in 1950 (Pamphlet), pages 91–96.
[2] Madras Information, April 1954, page 30.
[3] G.O. No. 5401, Local and Municipal, dated 14th December 1934.
[4] G.O. No. 4210, Local Administration, dated 21st October 1938.
[5] G.O. No. 1727, Local Administration, dated 22nd October 1946.
[6] Madras in 1949, page 47.

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52 members of whom 41 occupied unreserved seats and 11 occupied reserved seats. The reserved seats were occupied by 3 Muslims, 2 Indian Christians, 3 Scheduled Castes and 3 women. Its revenues amounted to no less than Rs. 35,96,787. The main source was the land-cess and it was levied at the rate of 2 annas in the rupee of land revenue. The cess collected in the panchayat areas was shared by the District Board and the Panchayat Boards, the former receiving 1½ annas in the rupee and the latter ½ anna in the rupee. The District Board's income from the land-cess amounted to Rs. 12,22,721. The next important source was the education cess and it was levied at first at 10 pies and subsequently at 16 pies in the rupee of land revenue for augmenting the elementary education fund. This brought in Rs. 6,16,272. Another important source was the surcharge on stamp duty which fetched Rs. 6,87,929. Profession tax was not levied in the year, but the pilgrim tax was levied on those bound for Nagapattinam during the Arogyamatha festival at Velanganni and the proceeds were shared by the District Board and the Municipality. The Board's share amounted to Rs. 3,510. In addition to this, the entertainment tax brought to the Board Rs. 13,661. It is not a little interesting to note that the Board was not receiving in this year, or in previous years, any grant from the Government towards compulsory education and towards payment of dearness allowance to teachers of elementary schools. This was the only District Board in the State which was denied these grants and it complained that the reason alleged by the Government for this denial, that it was rich enough to bear the expenditure itself, was by no means fair.[1]

The District Board spent its revenues mostly on roads, education and medical aid. Its total expenditure in 1949–50 amounted to Rs. 31,78,707. It maintained 1,999 miles of district roads [2] at a cost of Rs. 10,70,035 and spent Rs. 58,768 on the construction of bridges, causeways, culverts and road dams. It maintained 48 ferries and derived from them an income of Rs. 25,292. It maintained 871 miles of avenues and derived from them an income of Rs. 23,441. It maintained 21 choultries [3] and five watersheds at a cost of Rs. 20,383 and derived from them an income of Rs. 27,369. It maintained 15 rest-houses at a cost of Rs. 9,796. It maintained 833 elementary schools—with 87,918 pupils—of which 238 had buildings of their own, 63 occupied rent-free buildings, and 532 rented buildings. Its receipts for elementary education came from the education

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[1] G.O. No. 2456, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950.

[2] The railways formerly owned by the District Board have been dealt with in the chapter on communications.

[3] For the Raja's chatrams administered by the District Board, see the chapter on communications.

cess, Government grants, endowments and contributions from general funds and amounted to Rs. 18,73,731 and its expenditure amounted to Rs. 18,28,863. It maintained 10 complete High Schools, 6 incomplete High Schools and 3 Middle Schools with 10,503 students of whom 858 appeared for the S.S.L.C. Examination. All its secondary schools had buildings of their own and one of them at (Nannilam) had a hostel. Its receipt under secondary education came from fees, Government grants, etc., and amounted to Rs. 4,28,823 and its expenditure on secondary education amounted to Rs. 5,95,893. It maintained an Industrial School situated on the outskirts of Tanjore in which 92 students studied general mechanics, carpentry, weaving and lacquering and which was also one of the centres for training demobilized personnel under the Technical Training Scheme of the Government of India. It maintained 2 libraries, one the Silver Jubilee Library at Tanjore and the other at Moovalur. Nor is this all. It maintained four hospitals, (one at Sirkali, one at Nannilam, one at Porayar and one for women and children at Tiruthuraipundi), and 31 regular dispensaries and 31 rural dispensaries under the western system of medicine which treated 3,207 in-patients and 673,625 out-patients, as well as 13 Siddha and 24 Ayurvedic dispensaries which treated 218,282 out-patients. It maintained the Tuberculosis clinic attached to the Raja Mirasdar Hospital and 22 maternity and child-welfare centres. And finally, it maintained 2 daily and 6 weekly markets and derived from them an income of Rs. 10,747.[1]

As has been seen, the District Boards exercised control over the panchayats in 1950, before the new Panchayats Act was brought into operation. The Tanjore District Board had under it, in 1949–1950, 24 major panchayats and 606 minor panchayats. The major panchayats had, on the whole, 361 members. Their revenues amounted to Rs. 7,12,587 and their expenditure to Rs. 7,07,619. The main source of their revenue was the house-tax ; the other sources were the entertainment tax, the surcharge on stamp duty, profession tax, vehicle tax, lighting tax and fees from markets, cart-stands and slaughter-houses. The revenues were generally spent on sanitation, lighting, roads, wells, tanks and pumping installations. Of the 606 minor panchayats, 133 maintained street lights and 106 maintained elementary schools.[2]

We now come to municipal administration. Leaving out of consideration the Madras City, municipal action in the districts dates from the passing of India Act XXVI of 1850. This Act authorized the Government to introduce it in any town in

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[1] G.O. No. 256, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950.
[2] G.O. No. 2456, Local Administration, dated 21st December 1950, pages 57–58, 60 and 63.

which the inhabitants were desirous of making better provision for "constructing, repairing, cleaning, lighting or watching any public streets, roads, drains or tanks or for the prevention of nuisances or for improving the town in any manner." The Act might be introduced even for a few of these purposes if the inhabitants so wished. The councillors, or the commissioners as they were then called, consisted of the magistrate and such of the inhabitants as the Government might appoint and they were removable at pleasure. The raising of the necessary ways and means, the definition and prohibition of nuisances and the fixing of penalties as well as all matters connected with the establishment needed for carrying out the purposes of the Act were left to be provided for by the by-laws to be framed by the councillors and approved by the Government. The Act, it will thus be seen, was merely an enabling Act and that being so, and the people being unwilling to tax themselves, it was never introduced in any district. Subsequently, however, a few purely voluntary associations for sanitary and other municipal purposes ungoverned by any legislative enactments were formed in some of the northern districts. Such voluntary associations were, however, not formed in Tanjore. Tanjore saw municipal institutions only after the passing of the next Act, called the Madras Towns Improvement Act X of 1865.[1]

This Act primarily originated in the intention of the Government to make the inhabitants bear, as much as possible, the charges of maintaining police in towns. It was, however, eventually resolved that the funds compulsorily raised under it should be made applicable not only to the expenses of the police but also to "the construction, repairing and cleaning of drains; the making and repairing of roads, the keeping of roads, streets and tanks clean; and doing such things as may be necessary for the preservation of the public health." The amount to be raised for these purposes was to be fixed by the Government, who were also to indicate the means of taxation and one-fourth of the sum so fixed was to be paid by the Government as a grant-in-aid. Besides the sums compulsorily fixed by the Government, the councillors were, with the sanction of the Government, empowered to raise further sums for other municipal purposes, such as lighting, prevention of fire, water-supply, etc. The independence of the councillors was restricted in more than one direction. They were bound to raise the amount fixed by the Government, and, if they failed to do so, the District Magistrate was empowered to raise the sums himself. Three ex-officio councillors, namely, the District Magistrate, the local magistrate and the range officer of the Public Works Department, sat on the council itself. The District Magistrate who acted as the president appointed the vice-presidents of all municipalities within the district. He

[1] For the provisions of Act X of 1865, see *Fort St. George Gazette.*

was invested with the power of appointing such establishment as the councillors might sanction for the purposes of the Act, and in case of emergency, he could exercise all the powers of the councillors. The councillors were to consist of not less than five inhabitants of the town appointed by the Government and their term of office was limited to one year, subject to re-appointment. The nature, amount and the method of collect ionof the various rates, taxes, tolls and fees were defined and several conservancy clauses were enacted in the place of the optional rules and the bye-laws which the councillors were empowered to make under the old law [1].

It was under this Act that the five Municipalities in Tanjore, namely, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam, Mayuram and Mannargudi came into existence. They were all formed in 1866 [2]. They all had the District Magistrate as the president and the range officer of the Public Works Department as one of their councillors. Excluding these officers, there were 10 councillors in Tanjore of whom 6 were non-officials; 9 in Kumbakonam of whom 7 were non-officials; 11 in Nagapattinam of whom 8 were non-officials; 11 in Mannargudi of whom 9 were non-officials; and 8 in Mayuram of whom 7 were non-officials. The ex-officio councillors were generally the Sub-Collector, the Assistant Collector or the Deputy Collector and the Judge of the Court of Small Causes or the District Munsif, the Zillah Surgeon and the Superintendent of Police. The Municipalities raised their revenues from the profession tax, the house-tax, the vehicles tax and the tolls and licence fees and spent a major portion of them on the maintenance of the Police and the remainder on the repairs of roads and drains and on sanitation [3]. To give an idea of their revenues and expenditure, in 1868–1869, Tanjore had an income of Rs. 86,241 and an expenditure of Rs. 74,744; Kumbakonam an income of Rs. 54,945 and an expenditure of Rs. 42,713; Nagapattinam an income of Rs. 55,874 and an expenditure of Rs. 53,581; Mannargudi an income of Rs. 22,904 and an expenditure of Rs. 17,811; and Mayuram an income of Rs. 21,618 and an expenditure of Rs. 18,000. It is stated that the Act resulted in a distinct improvement "in the appearance and comfort" of the towns, especially of Tanjore and Nagapattinam [4].

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[1] Manual of Madras Administration by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885—Footnote on pages 225–226.

Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, 1877, pages 207–209.

[2] G.O. No. 1023, Public, dated 8th October 1866.

[3] G.O. No. 1023, Public, dated 8th October 1866.
G.O. No. 1629, Public, dated 31st December 1867.

[4] G.O. No. 1064, Public, dated 27th August 1868.
G.O. No. 1065, Public, dated 30th July 1869.

The Act of 1865 had hardly been brought into operation when the necessity of extending its scope and revising its provisions began to be felt. It was found that beyond collecting the taxes fixed compulsorily by the Government, the inhabitants had shown hardly any enthusiasm for providing for lighting, water-supply, etc. It was also found that the Voluntary Education Cess Act IV of 1863 had practically remained a dead letter. In order to set right these matters, a new Act known as the Towns Improvements ActIII of 1871 was passed which included the abovementioned objects among those to which the funds raised under the Act should ordinarily be applicable. At the same time the Government withdrew the grants-in-aid of 25 per cent of the compulsory expenditure which under the Act of 1865 they were bound to contribute. This was done partly for financial reasons and partly for consistency, as there was no justification for giving such a grant to the Municipalities when it was denied to the Local Boards which were being then formed under the Local Funds Act IV of 1871. By this change the Municipalities gained in the direction of having no longer to contribute the police charges; they lost, however, in having had thrown on them four new charges, namely, those for hospitals and dispensaries, those for schools, those for birth and death registration and those for vaccination. It was at the same time provided that the Government might appoint any person whatever as a councillor even though he might not be an inhabitant of the town, subject only to the limitation as to the number of officials on each council. This provision was made to enable the Government to appoint a European officer as a working member of the Municipality. The qualification for the members was made more elastic. Their term of office was increased from one year to three years. The number of ex-officio members was reduced from 3 to 2, the Collector of the district being substituted for the District Magistrate as president and the local Revenue Officer taking the place of the local magistrate and the range officer of the Public Works Department. The appointment of the vice-president was taken out of the president's hands and vested in the Government. Provision was made for the election of the councillors by the rate-payers under rules that might be framed by the Government and a similar provision was also made for the election of the vice-president. The Government's contribution of 25 per cent of the sanctioned expenditure having been withdrawn, and there being no police charges to provide for, there was no longer the same necessity for giving the Government the power to fix the amount of taxation and to levy it through the president if the councillors failed to do so. Consequently the old provisions made in this regard were not re-enacted. The general right, however, to fix the amount of taxation was still maintained by the Government by providing that the Government might pass such orders as they deemed fit on the

annual budgets of the Municipalities. Provision was likewise made for the appointment by the Government of inspecting officers to superintend the working of the Act. The result of the Act of 1871 was to place the councillors in a more responsible position and to diminish the Government interference in matters of detail, while the provisions rendering permissive election of councillors and of vice-presidents furnished the machinery for granting a larger measure of independence than before [1].

The Act was introduced in the five towns in Tanjore in 1871. The number of councillors of the Municipalities practically remained the same, so also remained the same their sources of taxation. To convey an idea of their receipt and expenditure in the very first year, Tanjore collected Rs. 62,739 and spent Rs. 44,201; Kumbakonam collected Rs. 38,775 and spent Rs. 29,551; Nagapattinam collected Rs. 45,370 and spent Rs. 36,288; Mannargudi collected Rs. 21,458 and spent Rs. 14,997; and Mayuram collected Rs. 26,733 and spent Rs. 24,642. The municipal funds were no longer spent on police; they were spent on roads, conservancy, sanitation and lighting, on education, dispensaries, vaccination and registration of births and deaths [2].

About this time an interesting discussion took place on the introduction of the elective system in the Municipalities. Lord Hobart, the Governor, stood for the system of election and stressed the need for giving immediate effect to the permissive provisions of the Act. He said that the Act instead of introducing local self-Government had actually introduced only local administration by Government boards. He believed that nothing would be lost and everything would be gained by making the people themselves elect their councillors. He held that the power of "choosing their own rulers" should be given to the people irrespective of the question whether the rulers they elect would be as good as those chosen for them by the Government. "Such a power", he went on to observe, "is in itself an advantage of the greatest value apart from all considerations of the degree in which it contributes or is prejudicial, to good Government. It is valuable chiefly because it gives an interest in public affairs to the many who would otherwise have none; because it gives elevation and self-respect to the character, cultivation and enlargement to the mind." But his colleagues thought otherwise. They said that the time had not yet arrived for the change; that the people were evincing but

[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885—Footnotes on page 226.
For the provisions of Act III of 1871—See *Fort St. George Gazette.*

[2] G.O. No. 1307, Finance, dated 2nd October 1872.
G.O. No. 1350, Finance, dated 4th October 1872.
G.O. No. 1360, Finance, dated 7th October 1872.
G.O. No. 1390, Finance, dated 10th October 1872.
G.O. No. 1434, Finance, dated 22nd October 1872.

little interest in local affairs and still less in taxing themselves for the common good; and that it would, therefore, be "unwise to expose municipal institutions while yet in their infancy to the uncertainties and danger of popular control." It was eventually agreed to try the experiment as regards half the councillors in ten selected towns. There is, however, nothing to show that it was tried in any of the Municipalities in Tanjore. Meanwhile, the financial pressure having become great largely owing to the famines of 1876–1878, the Government once more went back to the policy of 1865 of taxing the people for the maintenance of the town police. Act VII of 1878 was accordingly passed, making the Municipalities liable to 75 per cent of the police charges. This state of things, however, lasted only for three years. In 1881 the Government of India gave it as their opinion that the Municipalities might be relieved of the charges for police on the ground that it was a department "over which they had no control and in the efficient and economical expenditure of which they had but little direct interest and no immediate responsibility." At the same time, they considered that an equivalent burden on education, medical aid and public works of local interests might be transferred to the Municipalities together with such control over the details of expenditure as might be deemed necessary. In 1882 a committee was appointed by the local Government to go into the whole question of local administration and on its recommendation, a new Act, entitled the Madras District Municipalities Act IV of 1884 was passed [1].

This Act superseded the Towns Improvements Act of 1871 and for the first time introduced the term "Municipality" into the title, the former Acts being styled only as Towns Improvements Acts. It also adopted the new terms, so well known today, "Council" and "Councillors" in lieu of the old terms "Commission" and "Commissioners" employed in the earlier Acts. Under the provisions made in this Act the Government could withdraw the Act from Municipalities which had become reduced in population and importance by famine, pestilence, floods or other calamities and thus subject them to lighter taxation and less onerous duties of unions under the Local Boards. The municipal council was to consist of not less than twelve persons. Their term of office was to be three years. The Revenue Officer in charge of the division of the district in which any Municipality was situated, was to be an ex-officio councillor. All the other councillors might be appointed by the Government, or with the permission of the Government; any portion not exceeding three-fourths of them might be elected by the tax-payers, but not more than one-fourth of the whole number of the councillors might be salaried officers

[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by **C. D. Maclean,** 1885—See footnotes on pages 226–228.

of the Government, unless they had been elected as councillors by the tax-payers. Each council was to have a chairman who might be either appointed by the Government, or, with the permission of the Government, elected by the councillors from among their own number. He was to be the executive officer of the council answering to the former vice-president and was to be responsible for carrying out all the purposes of the Act. The Government were to have the power to remove a chairman or municipal councillor at any time. The Collector was to have emergency powers over the Municipality. The position of the Government servants lent to the Municipalities was defined and the position of the municipal servants was improved. The only new tax authorized by this Act was the water-tax to be levied at the rate of 4 per cent on the annual rent value of houses and lands and applicable only to the purposes of water-supply by means of works of more or less permanent character.

The main sources of revenue of the Municipalities at this time consisted of a tax on professions; a tax on lands and buildings not exceeding 7½ per cent on their annual value; a water-tax as mentioned already not exceeding 4 per cent on their annual value, a tax on vehicles, tolls on vehicles and animals entering the municipal limits and licences to carry on offensive or dangerous trades. Other sources consisted of fees or rents for the use of municipal gardens, choultries, markets, slaughter-houses, cart-stands, etc., fines and forfeitures, payments for municipal services, and grants-in-aid from State funds. The revenues so raised were applicable to the construction and repair of streets, bridges, etc.; the construction and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, choultries, markets, tanks, wells, drains, sewers, etc.; the training and employment of medical practitioners, vaccinators and sanitary inspectors; the registration of births and deaths; the lighting and cleaning of streets; the diffusion of education and, with this in view, the construction, repair and maintenance of schools either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid and the inspection of schools and the training of teachers.[1]

The Act of 1884 enabled the five Municipalities in the Tanjore district to collect not only the usual taxes and fees as before but also to collect the new water-tax. The Act was introduced in the Municipalities in 1885 and the councils began to function with 24 councillors in Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Nagapattinam, 18 in Mayuram and 16 in Mannargudi[2]. In 1886–1887, for instance, under the new Act, their revenues and expenditure amounted to Rs. 65,475 and Rs. 48,998 in Tanjore;

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[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, 1885—Footnotes on pages 229–230 and pages 228–243.
For the provisions of Madras Act IV of 1884—see *Fort St. George Gazette.*

[2] G.O. No. 864, Finance, dated 30th April 1883.

Rs. 54,209 and Rs. 47,362 in Kumbakonam; Rs. 60,464 and Rs. 61,726 in Nagapattinam; Rs. 21,850 and Rs. 18,326 in Mannargudi; and Rs. 28,998 and Rs. 28,132 in Mayuram. Their expenditure was incurred on the same objects as before, that is, on roads, conservancy, sanitation, lighting, education, dispensaries, vaccination and registration of births and deaths [1].

From this time onwards no important changes were made in municipal administration till 1920. In that year, as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, the Madras District Municipalities Act V of 1920 was passed for repealing the Act of 1884 and for increasing the elected proportion of the members of the municipal councils as well as the resources and powers of the Municipalities. In that year also an Inspector of Municipal Councils was appointed to supervise the working of the Municipalities. The Act of 1920 provided that the Government might, by notification, declare any town or village as a Municipality or abolish any municipality. The municipal council was to consist of 16 members in Municipalities with a population not exceeding 20,000; 20 in those between 20,000 and 30,000; 24 in those between 30,000 and 40,000; 28 in those between 40,000 and 50,000; 32 in those between 50,000 and 100,000; and 36 in those exceeding 100,000. The elected portion of the councillors was not to be less than three-fourths of the total number; the rest were to be appointed by the Government having regard to the representation of the Muslims and other minority communities. The term of the councillors was to be three years. They were to elect the chairman and vice-chairman; the former might, however, be also appointed by the Government. The council might appoint standing committees or special committees for carrying out the purposes of the Act. The Collector of the District might exercise control over the council in cases of default or emergency; and the Government might suspend the execution of any resolutions of the council, appoint officers of their own to superintend the Municipalities or remove a chairman or dissolve or supersede a council in cases of misconduct. The council might, and if directed by the Government, should, appoint a health officer and a municipal engineer. The Government might also lend their own officers to the council.

Every municipal council might levy a property tax, a tax on companies, a profession tax, a vehicle tax and tolls on vehicles and animals entering the Municipality. The rates of taxes were not fixed, latitude being given in this matter to the council. It might also, with the previous sanction of the

[1] G.O. No. 296, Municipal, dated 13th September 1887.
G.O. No. 933, Municipal, dated 14th September 1887.
G.O. No. 855, Municipal, dated 29th August 1887.
G.O. No. 884, Municipal, dated 26th August 1887.

Government, levy a surcharge on income-tax in lieu of the tax on companies and of the profession tax as well as a pilgrim tax. The Government were to appoint auditors to audit the municipal funds. All streets, public water-courses, wells, tanks, etc., were to vest in the council and the Board of Revenue might transfer to it also the control of endowments. The council might, with the sanction of the Government, construct and maintain water works. It should provide for lighting public streets, drainage, latrines, scavenging, removal of rubbish, etc. It should maintain and repair the streets, regulate the construction of buildings, take precautions against outbreaks of fire and issue licences for various purposes, like the keeping of animals, the starting of industries and factories and the running of markets and slaughter-houses. It should maintain a register of vital statistics and arrange for the prevention of diseases and for compulsory vaccination[1]. Nor is this all. Besides these duties imposed by the District Municipalities Act, it was made to provide for the expansion of elementary education by the levy of an education tax under the Elementary Education Act VIII of 1920[2].

By the time these Acts were passed a new Municipality had come into existence in the Tanjore district. This was the Municipality of Tiruvarur. It was constituted in 1914 with 12 councillors, all nominated by the Government[3]. The District Municipalities Act and the Elementary Education Act of 1920 were introduced in this as well as in the five older Municipalities of the district in 1921. The position of the six Municipalities now became as follows: In Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Nagapattinam there were 32 councillors; in Mayuram and Mannargudi 20 councillors; and in Tiruvarur 16 councillors. Three-fourths of all these councillors were elected by the rate-payers and one-fourth were nominated by the Government. The Municipalities levied the taxes permitted by the Acts and spent them as usual, but in a larger measure, on public works, sanitation, lighting, public health, medical aid, vital statistics and education. Both their revenues and expenditure now considerably increased. They amounted in Tanjore to Rs. 1,90,810 and Rs. 1,85,660; in Kumbakonam to Rs. 3,08,766 and Rs. 2,77,848; in Nagapattinam to Rupees 2,41,894 and Rs. 2,80,794; in Mayuram to Rs. 1,49,972 and Rs. 1,51,281; in Mannargudi to Rs. 52,431 and Rs. 54,942; and in Tiruvarur to Rs. 39,283 and Rs. 45,260[4].

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[1] G.O. No. 64, Legislative, dated 21st June 1920.
[2] For Act VIII of 1920—see *Fort St. George Gazette.*
[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District Vol. II, 1933, page 224.
[4] G.O. No. 2426, Local and Municipal, dated 6th December 1922.
G.O. No. 2447, Local and Municipal, dated 7th December 1922.
G.O. No. 195, Local and Municipal, dated 20th January 1923.
G.O. No. 2478, Local and Municipal, dated 12th December 1922.
G.O. No. 2477, Local and Municipal, dated 12th December 1922.
G.O. No. 326, Local and Municipal, dated 5th March 1923.

The District Municipalities Act of 1920 was modified in some important respects by the Act X of 1930. This Act did away with nomination and laid down that every municipal councillor should be elected. It, however, provided for the reservation of seats for the minority communities, Muslims, Indian Christians, Harijans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Women. It also removed the disqualification of women to stand for election and extended the franchise to every person assessed to any tax to the Government of India, or the Local Government or any other local authority. It made the office of the chairman and vice-chairman elective and provided for the provincialization of any class of municipal officers. It likewise provided for the passing of votes of no-confidence in the chairman and vice-chairman and for the adjudication of disputes between local bodies.[1]

Subsequent municipal legislation ran on lines similar to those chalked out in the case of Local Boards, which we have already seen. The Motor Vehicles Taxation Act abolished the levy of tolls and tax on motor vehicles in Municipalities, and compensated the Municipalities out of the proceeds of the tax on motor vehicles collected by the Government (1931). The Government were empowered to appoint commissioners to the Municipalities (1933)[2]. The relevant portions of the electoral rolls of the Legislative Assembly were prescribed as the electoral rolls for the municipal elections also (1938)[3]. The Government were authorized to secure ultimate control over electrical undertaking managed by municipal councils and to appoint Municipal Electrical Engineers (1938)[4]. Municipal chairmen and vice-chairmen removed from office by the Government were debarred from standing for election again for either of the offices for a period of six months except when ordinary elections took place (1939)[5]. The municipal elections were postponed and the term of office of the existing councillors was extended (1940). Persons who were in arrears to the Municipalities were debarred from standing for elections.[6] The Collectors were empowered to nominate any municipal councillors to discharge the functions of the chairmen or vice-chairmen who failed to discharge their duties (1944)[7]. The Government were empowered to direct the municipal councils which were levying a low rate of property tax, to increase the tax (1944)[7]. The municipal councils were

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[1] For Act X of 1930—See the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

[2] Madras Administration Report for 1932–33, page 22.

[3] *Idem* for 1937–38, page 6.

[4] *Idem* for 1938–39, page 5.

[5] Madras Administration Report for 1939–40, page 4.

[6] Madras in 1940, pages 3 and 4.

[7] Madras in 1944, page 2.

authorized to levy a surcharge on stamp duty payable under the Indian Stamp Act in respect of the instruments of sale, gift and mortgage with possession (1945)[1], and transfers by way of exchange and lease in perpetuity (1950)[2]. All important and military roads in the Municipalities were transferred to the Highways Department (1946)[3]. And finally, the provisions contained in the Act of 1930 relating to the reservation of seats for the Muslims, Indian Christians and Europeans were deleted, those relating to the Anglo-Indians, Harijans and Women, however, being left intact (1950)[4].

The elections to the Municipalities which were postponed from time to time during the war period were held in 1947. In 1950 the year with which this book closes, the six Municipalities in the district presented the following picture.

The Tanjore Municipality had 32 councillors, 4 of whom occupied the seats reserved for the minority communities and women. Its receipts amounted to Rs. 13,01,884 and its expenditure to Rs. 11,86,604. It maintained 57 miles of roads almost all of which were lit by electricity. It had its own electrical power-house and it sold 2,623,267 units deriving a good profit. It maintained 16 elementary schools with a strength of 2,390 ; of these schools 3 were higher elementary schools and 2 were specially reserved for the Backward classes and the Harijans, though the latter had access to other schools as well. Education was free in all these schools. It maintained also 3 adult schools manned by teachers trained in adult education and 13 reading-rooms, one library, four parks and 5 radio installations. It ran, moreover, three dispensaries, and one infectious diseases hospital, which treated 159,706 patients. It had a First-class Health Officer, six midwives and three maternity and child-welfare centres. It had a piped water-supply but no good drainage. It had four markets, and four town-planning schemes under consideration[5].

The Kumbakonam Municipality had 32 councillors of whom 4 occupied the reserved seats. Its receipts were Rs. 16,11,941 and its expenditure was Rs.17,52,334. It maintained 43 miles of roads lit by electricity which was supplied by a private licensee, the Kumbakonam Electric Supply Corporation, and a travellers' bungalow. It maintained 24 elementary schools of which 2 were higher elementary

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[1] Madras in 1945, page 5.
[2] Madras in 1950, page 6.
[3] Madras in 1946, pges 5–6
[4] Madras in 1950, paes 9–10.
[5] G.O. No. 2145, L. A., dated 11th December 1950.

schools, and two intended mainly for girls and three for the Harijans. Education was freely and compulsorily imparted in these schools to 5,627 pupils. It ran also one high school as well as one school of arts and crafts which was the only school of its kind outside the Madras City. It maintained 14 reading-rooms, 1 central library for municipal teachers and 5 parks. It maintained likewise 1 maternity hospital, 1 dispensary for women and children and 1 general, dispensary. The hospital treated 870 in-patients and 18,045 out-patients, while the dispensaries treated 36,726 out-patients. It had a Health Officer, seven midwives and two maternity centres. It had a piped water-supply for a portion of the town but had no proper drainage. It had 3 daily markets and 2 town-planning schemes under consideration [1].

The Nagapattinam Municipality had 32 councillors, 5 of whom were occupying reserved seats. Its receipts were Rs. 7,96,596 and its expenditure was Rs. 8,00,486. It maintained 60 miles of roads lit by electricity, the power being supplied by a private concern called the Nagapattinam Electric Supply Company, Limited, and 1 rest-house. It maintained 19 elementary schools of which 5 were for girls, 2 for the Muslim girls, 4 for fishermen and 1 for the Harijans. The total strength of these schools was 2,767. Elementary education was compulsory for boys. It ran 1 high school for girls, 1 adult literacy school, 1 library and 1 reading-room. It ran also 1 dispensary which treated 18,504 patients. It had a Health Officer and 3 midwives. It had a piped water-supply and a drainage scheme nearing completion. It had 5 daily markets and 2 town-planning schemes under consideration [2].

In the Mayuram Municipality there were 24 coucillors, 4 of whom occupied reserved seats. Its receipts amounted to Rs. 5,13,870 and its expenditure to Rs. 5,00,237. It had, under its control, 40 miles of roads, part of which were lit by electricity, the current being obtained from a private licensee the South Madras Electric Supply Corporation, Limited. It had under its control also one travellers' bungalow. It ran 19 elementary schools, 5 of which were for girls, with a total strength of 4,303. Elementary education was free and compulsory for boys. It ran also 2 high schools. It had 1 library, 14 reading-rooms and 2 parks. It did not run any hospital or dispensary or maternity and child-welfare centre, but it had a Health Officer and 2 midwives. It had no protected water-supply or drainage. It had 2 daily markets [3].

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[1] G.O. No. 2198, L. A., dated 17th November 1950.
[2] G.O. No. 2435, L. A., dated 18th December 1950.
[3] G.O. No. 1888, L. A., dated 28th September 1950.

In Mannargudi the municipal council consisted of 20 councillors, 4 of whom occupied reserved seats. Its receipts amounted to Rs. 2,91,807 and its expenditure to Rs. 3,00,847. It had under its control 28 miles of roads lit by electricity which was supplied by the South Madras Electric Supply Corporation, Limited. It ran 7 elementary schools with 1,011 pupils. It had 5 reading-rooms, 1 park and 3 radio installations. It had one Ayurvedic dispensary, which treated 24,859 patients, 1 Health Officer and 3 maternity centres. It had no protected water-supply or drainage. It had a town-planning scheme under consideration [1].

The Tiruvarur Municipality had 20 councillors of whom 3 occupied reserved seats. Its receipts were Rs. 2,60,519 and its expenditure was Rs. 2,82,989. It maintained 22 miles of roads lit by electricity which was supplied by the South Madras Electric Supply Corporation, Limited. It maintained also 8 elementary schools of which 2 were for girls, 2 for the Muslims, 1 for the Harijans, and 3 for boys, with a total strength of 1,060. It ran 4 adult literacy classes manned by trained teachers and 2 reading-rooms and 1 library. It ran 2 Siddha dispensaries which treated 41,612 patients. It had a Health Officer and 2 maternity centres. It had no protected water-supply or drainage. It had under its control 1 weekly shandy, 2 weekly markets and 1 daily market. It had. 4 town-planning schemes under consideration [2].

Such is the history of local administration in the district. From very small beginnings the Local Self-Government institutions have developed into a District Board which is the richest in the State, over 600 Panchayats and six Municipalities. These institutions, it is needless to say, have proved not only useful to the district but also useful to the State as a whole, by providing training grounds for statesmen and legislators in the larger spheres of democracy.

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[1] G O. No. 1936, L. A., dated 4th October 1950.
[2] G O. No. 2137, L.A., dated 10th November 1950.

CHAPTER XV.

LAW AND ORDER.

The origin of the present system of Law and Order, of civil and criminal justice as well as of the magistracy and the police in Tanjore, as in other districts, is to be traced to what is called the Cornwallis System first established in Bengal in 1793 and subsequently extended to Madras in 1802. In 1802 a series of Regulations were passed in Madras for establishing a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts and for defining their powers. First among these Company's Courts at the top there was the Sadr and Foujdari Adalat having jurisdiction over all the districts; below it there were the four Provincial and Circuit Courts, each having jurisdiction over a group of districts; and below these courts there were the Zillah Courts, each having jurisdiction over a Zillah, i.e., a district or a portion of a district. The higher Courts had both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The Sadr Adalat was so called when it sat as a civil court, but when it sat as a criminal court it was called the Foujdari Adalat. Similarly, the Provincial Court was so called when it sat as a civil court, but when it sat as a criminal or sessions court it was called the Court of Circuit. The Zillah Court was both a civil and a magisterial court and the Zillah Judge was both a civil judge and magistrate. The magisterial powers till then exercised by the Collector were transferred to him. So also were transferred to him from the Collector the powers of control over the police. The police was, at the same time, reorganized in several districts by replacing the village watchmen by Darogas and Thanadars. This system was, however, not applicable to the Madras City where there was a Crown Court called the Supreme Court (1801), the Justices of the Peace, the Poligar and his police peons and later a Superintendent of Police and his Daffadars, Harkaras and peons[1].

The Cornwallis system underwent some important changes first in 1816 when, on the recommendations of Sir Thomas Munro and the Court of Directors, the magisterial powers and the control of the police were transferred from the Zillah Judge again to the Collector and Indian agency was more and more employed in judicial administration, and next in 1843 when the Provincial and Circuit Courts were abolished and their powers were vested in the new Zillah Judge called the Civil and Sessions Judge. But for these changes it continued to retain its old lineaments till 1862 when the Sadr and the Foujdari Adalat as well as the Supreme Court were abolished

[1] Report on the Madras Records by H. Dodwell, 1916, pages 60, 62–74.

and their powers transferred to the High Court. About this time came also the several codes, which substantially changed the character of judicial administration, civil as well as criminal. We may, for convenience, first trace the history of the civil and criminal justice in the district separately till about 1862 and thereafter describe the changes subsequently introduced. We may also, for convenience, trace the history of the police separately after dealing with the civil and criminal justice.

It was not till 1806 that Tanjore came within the orbit of the Cornwallis system. In 1802 provision was made for the establishment of two Zillah Courts at Mannargudi and Mayuram[1] but they were not actually established. It was only in 1806 that two Zillah Courts were established, one at Kumbakonam and the other at Mannargudi[2]. The Mannargudi Court was short-lived ; it was abolished in 1808[3] and from that time, the Kumbakonam Court continued for more than half a century to serve the whole district. In administering civil justice, the Zillah Judge of Kumbakonam was assisted by a Kazi and a Mufti as well as a Pundit[4]. He followed the Muslim and the Hindu law as expounded by these Law Officers in all suits regarding succession, inheritance, marriage and caste and all religious usages and institutions. Where, however, neither their opinions, nor the Regulations, nor the works on Hindu and Muslim law prescribed the law, he proceeded according to justice, equity and good conscience[5]. This meant that at a time when there was no law of contract, no law of succession, no law of administration of deceased estates, etc., he had a very wide field within which to exercise his discretion[6]. The procedure that he followed in his court as well as the procedure that his subordinate judicial officers followed in their courts was prescribed by the Regulations[7]. And he was given the benefit of a Government Pleader[8], while the parties were given the benefit of employing licensed pleaders or vakils to argue their suits.

The Zillah Judge, to begin with, had a Register's (Registrar's) Court and some Native Commissioner's Courts under him. The Commissioners were chosen from among respectable

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[1] Regulation II of 1802—Section 2.
[2] Judicial Consultations, dated 27th October 1806 ; and Regulation II of 1806.
[3] *Idem*, dated 21st January 1808.
[4] Judicial Consultations, dated 19th April 1808.
Idem, dated 27th April 1808.
Regulation XI, 1802, Sections 1, 2, 3.
[5] Regulation II of 1802, Section 17.
[6] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Volume I, 1885, page 270—See Foot-note.
[7] *Idem*, page 271—See Footnote ; also Regulations III, XIII, XIV and XV of 1802.
[8] Judicial Consultations, dated 31st January 1807 ; dated 18th July 1807 ; and 17th February 1817 ; also Regulation II of 1802, Section 15 and Regulation X of 1802, Sections 22 and 24.

Indians belonging to certain classes like landowners, jagirdars, tradesmen, kazis, etc. They were appointed by commissions issued under the seal and signature of the Zillah Judge with the previous approval of the Sadr Adalat ; and the number of Commissioners to be appointed for each Zillah was left to be determined by the Zillah Judge. They acted in three capacities. They acted as Referees in suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 80 in value, referred to them by the Zillah Judge. They also acted as Arbitrators in any suit referred to them by the parties, without the intervention of the court under a written arbitration bond. They acted likewise as Munsifs in suits against under-renters and ryots in jagirs[1]. The Registrar had powers to try suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 200 in value, suits for revenue paying land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 200, and suits for revenue-free land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 20. His decisions were final in suits not exceeding Rs. 25 in value subject to the discretionary power of revision of the Zillah Judge on the ground of obvious error or injustice. In suits above that value, a second appeal lay to the Provincial Court[2]. The Zillah Judge had powers to try all other suits, but his decisions were final only in suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 1,000, in suits for revenue-free land the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 20 and in suits for Zamindari or other revenue paying land, the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 200. In 1809, however, all decrees of the Zillah Judge in original trials were made appealable to the Provincial Court[3].

The Provincial Court which first consisted of three Judges and which had jurisdiction over Tanjore and other southern districts had its headquarters first at Krishnagiri, then at Madurai and later on at Tiruchirappalli[4]. It tried appeals from the Zillah Courts under it as well as original suits referred to it by the Sadr Adalat. Its decisions were final when the amount did not exceed Rs. 5,000 ; but above that sum an appeal lay from it to the Sadr Adalat in suits for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which exceeded Rs. 100, in suits for revenue paying lands or Zamindari lands, the annual produce of which exceeded Rs. 1,000 and in suits for money or other personal property above Rs. 5,000 in value[5].

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[1] Regulation XVI of 1802.
[2] Regulation XII of 1802, Sections, 6, 9 and 10.
[3] Regulation II of 1802, Section 21.
Regulation VII of 1809, Section 24.
[4] Regulation IV of 1802, Sections 3 and 4.
Regulation XXIV of 1802, Sections, 2, 3 and 4.
Regulation V of 1803.
[5] Regulation IV of 1802, Sections 6, 7 and 12.
Regulation V of 1802, Section 10.

The Sadr Adalat as constituted in 1802 consisted of the Governor and Council [1]. In 1806 its constitution was altered, the Governor functioning as the Chief Judge and the other two judges being selected from among the covenanted civil servants of the Company other than the members of the Council [2]. In 1807 some changes were again made. The Governor ceased to be the Chief Judge, and the latter came to be appointed by the Governor first from among the members of the covenanted civil service outside his council and then from among the members of his own council. The Commander-in-chief also came to be appointed as one of the Judges, and three other Puisne Judges came to be appointed from among the covenanted civil servants [3]. The Sadr Adalat had powers to decide finally all suits up to Rs. 45,000 and above that sum an appeal lay to the Governor-General in Council [4].

In 1809 the Zillah Judge of Kumbakonam was given an Assistant Judge to dispose of the increasing arrears in his court [5]. At the same time, the jurisdiction of the Registrar was extended to suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 500 in value, to suits for revenue paying lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 500, to suits for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 150 and to suits for other property the value of which did not exceed Rs. 500. But his powers of hearing appeals were reduced, it being laid down that no appeals from ' Native Commissioners' were to be referred to him [6]. His powers of final decision were also abolished [7], but in suits in which the Zillah Judge reversed his decree or disallowed a sum not exceeding Rs. 100, an appeal was made to lie to the Provincial Court [8]. In the same year, the Hindu and Muslim Law Officers of the Zillah Court came to be appointed as Sadr Amins or Head Referees [9] with powers to try suits referred to them by the Zillah Judge for personal property of Rs. 100, for revenue paying lands the annual produce of which was Rs. 100 and for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 10 [10]. The Zillah Judge's decision now became final in all appeals from the decisions passed by the ' Native Commissioners' ; but an appeal was made to lie from his decision in suits tried by him in the first instance to the Provincial Court.[11]

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[1] Regulation V of 1802, Section 2.
Regulation VIII of 1802, Section 3.
[2] Regulation IV of 1806, Section 3.
[3] Regulation I of 1807, Section 2.
Regulation III of 1807, Section 3.
[4] Regulation V of 1802, Sections 31–36.
[5] Judicial Consultations, dated 8th September 1809.
[6] Regulation VII of 1809.
[7] Regulation VII of 1806, Section 6.
[8] Regulation VII of 1809, Section 8.
[9] Regulation X of 1809, Section 2.
[10] Regulation VII of 1809, Section 9 (1).
[11] Regulation VII of 1809, Sections 23, 24.

The Provincial Court was also authorised to admit special appeals in all cases from his decision where a regular appeal might not lie to it from his decrees, if such decrees appeared erroneous or unjust, or if the case was considered important[1]. Similar powers of admitting special appeals were also granted to the Sadr Adalat[2]. At the same time, the Provincial Court was given original jurisdiction in suits above Rs. 5,000 and in suits for revenue-free land the annual produce of which exceeded Rs. 500[3].

The state of civil justice in 1813 when the district was on the eve of some important changes was as follows. The Zillah Judge decided in that year 17 original suits and 3 appeals from the Registrar and 7 appeals from the 'Native Commissioners'; the Assistant Judge decided 3 original suits and 1 appeal from the Registrar and 2 appeals from the 'Native Commissioners'; the Registrar decided 200 original suits; and the 'Native Commissioners' decided 1,612 original suits. A large number of these suits and appeals were adjusted by razinamah; thus the Zillah Judge adjudged 1 original suit and 1 appeal by razinamah, the Assistant Judge 2 suits, the Registrar 107 suits and the 'Native Commissioners' 944 suits. The value of the property decreed in all these suits amounted to 19,337 pagodas. As to the arrears of suits, on 1st January 1814 there were 116 appeals and 81 original suits pending in the Zillah Court; 19 appeals and 8 original suits in the Assistant Judge's Court; 270 original suits in the Registrar's Court; and 512 original suits in the courts of the 'Native Commissioners'. The property in litigation in all these courts was valued at 98,876 pagodas which was the highest figure in the whole State[4].

Then followed a period of several changes, of the introduction of new courts and of the enlargement of the powers of the existing courts. The credit for all these changes belongs to no other than Sir Thomas Munro, that unerring, indefatigable administrator. The Cornwallis system had hardly made use of the Indian agency in judicial administration and the result had been heavy arrears in civil courts. Because of this Munro was in 1814 appointed at the head of a Judicial Commission to reorganize the existing system[5]; and on his recommendations

[1] Regulation VII of 1809, Sections 25, 26.

[2] *Idem*, Sections 28–29.

[3] Regulation XII of 1809, Sections 2, 3.

[4] Selection of Papers from the Records of the East India House, Vol. II, 1820, pages 284 and 286.

[5] Judicial Consultations, dated 23rd September 1814, pages 5236—5269.
Idem, dated 11th November 1814, page 6205.
Idem, dated 15th November 1814, page 6213.
Idem, dated 18th November 1814, page 6260.

backed up by the Court of Directors a number of changes of first rate importance were introduced.[1]

From 1816 a District Munsif and Village Munsifs came to be appointed in the district.[2] The District Munsif's jurisdiction included one or more Tahsildaris[3]. The Village Munsifs who were also the heads of villages had powers to try and finally determine all suits for money or other personal property not exceeding Rs. 10 in value. The Karnams assisted the Village Munsifs by conducting and recording the court proceedings and by acting as assessors, although, the responsibility for the decision naturally lay solely on the Village Munsifs[4]. The Village Munsifs could also assemble Village Panchayats for the adjudication of civil suits of any amount (except suits for damages for personal injuries) within their village jurisdiction ; and the decisions of such panchayats were generally made final.[5] The Village Munsifs could moreover act as arbitrators to determine suits where the value of money or personal property did not exceed Rs. 100 whenever both the parties voluntarily agreed to such arbitration.[6] The District Munsif was empowered to try suits for land and personal property (except for revenue-free lands wherein their powers were restricted to lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 20) up to Rs. 200 and his decisions were made final in such suits up to Rs. 20 and in suits for revenue-free lands the annual produce of which did not exceed Rs. 2.[7] Above these sums an appeal lay from his decisions to the Zillah Court whose decision was regarded as final.[8] The District Munsif could also try any suits for damages referred to him but not suits filed in *forma pauperis*. He could likewise assemble District Panchayats on lines similar to those of the Village Panchayats.[9] These District Panchayats could try suits without limitation as to value, except suits for damages for personal injuries, if the parties agreed in writing to abide by their decisions. Such decisions were not open to appeal but were liable to be set aside and annulled, if partiality or corruption was proved to the satisfaction of the Provincial Court. The parties in such cases had the option to have recourse to another District Panchayat or any other competent court. The District Munsif had moreover powers to act as an arbitrator in suits voluntarily referred to him for real or personal property of the

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[1] For full details, see Selections from Papers from the Records at East India House, Volume II, Part I, 1820, pages 236 *et seq*. Also Vol. II, Part II.

[2] Judicial Consultations, dated 12th September 1816.

[3] Regulation VI of 1816, Section 5.

[4] *Idem*, Sections 2, 3, 5,10.

[5] Regulation V of 1816, Sections 2–12.

[6] Regulation IV of 1816, Section 27.

[7] Regulation VI of 1816, Section 11.

[8] Regulation IV of 1816, Section 43.

[9] Regulation VII of 1816, Sections 2–11.

same amount as his primary jurisdiction, his arbitration in such cases being final except on proof of corruption or partiality.[1]

In the same year, the jurisdiction of the Sadr Amins (the Hindu and Muslim Law Officers of the Zillah Court and the Hindu Law Officers of the Provincial Court) was raised to Rs. 300, except in suits for revenue-free lands where the limit was fixed as annual produce not exceeding Rs. 30 in value. An appeal was made to lie from their decision to the Zillah Judge and the Zillah Judge was also empowered to refer to them appeals from the District Munsif, for final disposal.[2] The Sadr Adalat was at the same time empowered to call up from the Provincial Courts and try in the first instance suits for Rs. 45,000 and upwards, the then appealable amount to the Governor-General in Council. The Provincial Court was now debarred from admitting regular appeals from the decisions passed by the Zillah Judge on appeals from his Registrar, but it was empowered to admit special appeals from his decisions in regular appeals from the original judgments of the Registrar, the Sadr Amins and the District Munsifs.[3] Finally all original suits tried by the Provincial Court were made appealable to the Sadr Adalat.[4] Provision was also made for reviewing the judgments of the Zillah and Provincial Courts in cases where no regular appeals lay.[5]

In 1818 the Governor-General ceased to hear appeals from the Sadr Adalat and the Privy Council became the ultimate Appellate Authority.[6] In 1820 the Zillah Judge was empowered to try suits brought by Indians against British subjects residing in the districts and an appeal was made to lie in such suits to the Supreme Court or the Sadr Adalat.[7] In 1821 the jurisdiction of the Registrar, the Sadr Amin and the District Munsif was extended to Rs. 1,000, 750 and 500 respectively, except in the case of rent-free lands where the limits were fixed at Rs. 100, 75 and 50 of annual produce respectively.[8] In 1825 all decisions of the District Munsifs in suits for property in land were made open to an appeal to the Zillah Court.[9]

In 1827 an Auxiliary Zillah Court with increased powers came to be established at Kumbakonam under an Assistant Judge. It had a separate territorial jurisdiction over a portion

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1 Regulation VI of 1816, Sections 57, 58.
2 Regulation VIII of 1816, Section 16.
3 Regulation XV of 1816, Sections 2, 3.
4 *Idem*, Section 6.
5 *Idem*.
6 Regulation VIII of 1818.
7 53rd George III C. 55 : Regulation II of 1820.
8 Regulation II of 1821, Sections 2–4.
9 Regulation V of 1825.

of the district and exclusive cognizance of suits not exceeding Rs. 5,000 in value. The Assistant Judge exercised appellate jurisdiction over the District Munsif stationed within his territorial limits. A special appeal or second appeal lay to the Zillah Judge from the decision of the Assistant Judge in appeal, if the decision was contrary to judicia' precedent or usage having the force of law or involved an important question of law not covered by judicial authority. In suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 tried by him, an appeal lay to the Zillah Judge and, above that sum, to the Provincial Court. A Sadr Amin (other than the Law Officer appointed as such under Regulation VIII of 1816) was appointed by the Auxiliary Court and an appeal from his decsion was made to lie to the Assistant Judge. A second appeal was also open to the Assistant Judge from the decisions of this Sadr Amin in appeals referred to him from the District Munsifs.[1] In the same year (1827) an Indian Judge who was afterwards (1836) designated as the Principal Sadr Amin came to be appointed. He had a separate territorial jurisdiction and powers similar to those of the Assistat Judge, except that he had no powers to try Europeans or to hear appeals from the decisions of European Officers or to issue any precept to European Officers. The Assistant Judge could transfer to him any pending suit whenever necessary.[2]

In the matter of second appeals, an appeal lay to the Zillah Judge from the decrees of the Assistant Judge in appeals from the Sadr Amin of the Auxiliary Court. Similarly an appeal lay to the Provincial Court from the decrees of the Zillah Judge in appeals from the Assistant Judge or the Principal Sadr Amin. An appeal likewise lay to the Sadr Adalat from the decrees of the Provincial Court in appeals from the Assistant Judge or Principal Sadr Amin.[3]

In 1833, the jurisdiction of the Registrar, the Sadr Amin and the District Munsif was raised to Rs. 3,000, 2,500 and 1,000 respectively, except in suits for revenue-free land where the annual produce did not exceed Rs. 300, 250 and 100 respectively.[4] In 1836 the special appeals which the British subjects enjoyed from the decisions of the Zillah Court to the Supreme Court were abolished and it was enacted that, no person by reason of birth or descent should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts[5] or be incapable of being appointed as a Principal Sadr Amin or a Sadr Amin or a District Munsif.[6]

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[1] Regulation I of 1827, Sections 2–7.
[2] Regulation VII of 1827.
[3] Regulation XI of 1827.
[4] Regulation III of 1833, Sections 3–5.
Judicial Consultations, dated 3rd May 1833, page 1875.
Idem, dated 31st May 1833, pages 2018–2025.
[5] Act XI of 1836.
[6] Act XXIV of 1836, Sections 1–5.

In 1843 (by Act III of. 1843) special appeals were made to lie to the Sadr Adalat from all decisions passed on regular appeals in all subordinate civil courts when such decisions were inconsistent with law or usage or the practice of the courts or involved doubtful questions of law, usage or practice. [1]

At this time another important change was introduced in the administration of justice. In 1843 both the Provincial Court and the Zillah Court were abolished and a new Zillah Court was established in Kumbakonam presided over by a judge styled as the Civil and Sessions Judge [2]. The original jurisdiction vested in the Provincial Court for amounts of less than Rs. 10,000 was now transferred to the Subordinate Judge (the Assistant Judge came to be now so designated except in the case of officers appointed under section 52 of Act VII of 1843) and the Principal Sadr Amin [3] and both were given jurisdiction over Europeans and Americans also. [4] The new Zillah Judge as Civil Judge was empowered to hear appeals from the decrees of the Subordinate Judge and the Principal Sadr Amin, the Sadr Amins and the District Munsifs. He could also refer appeals from the decisions of the District Munsifs to the Subordinate Judge or the Principal Sadr Amin or call up to his own court appeals received from those courts. [5] Appeals from his court lay to the Sadr Adalat [6]. The new scheme, however, deprived him of the assistance of the Registrar's Court, that court having been abolished. Summary appeals lay to his court from the decisions of the Subordinate Judge and Principal Sadr Amin, [7] and from his court to the Sadr Adalat. [8] In 1844 all suits within the competency of the Principal Sadr Amin and Sadr Amins to decide came to be ordinarily instituted in their courts, but they were made liable to be withdrawn by the Zillah Judge to be tried by him. [9] And in 1853, Act III of 1843 was repealed and another Act was passed specifying the grounds on which appeals were to lie to the Sadr Adalat. [10] After this, however, practically no change occurred until the introduction of the codes and the establishment of the High Court. At this stage therefore we may survey the state of civil justice in the district.

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[1] Act III of 1843, Section 1.
[2] Act VII, 1843, Section 1.
Judicial Consultations, dated 1st August 1843, page 2720.
Judicial Consultations, dated 15th August 1843, pages 2844–2890.
Judicial Consultations, dated 7th February 1843, page 185.
Judicial Consultations, dated 2nd May 1843, page 1002.
Judicial Consultations, dated 16th May 1843, page 1280.
Judicial Consultations, dated 20th June 1843, page 1661.
[3] Act VII, 1843, Section 4.
[4] Act VII, Section 5.
[5] Act VII, 1843, Section 7.
[6] Act VII, 1843, Section 9.
[7] Act VII, 1843, Section 8.
[8] Act VII, 1843, Section 9.
[9] Act IX, 1844, Sections 1, 2, 4.
[10] Act XVI, 1853,—See also Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Volume I, 1885—Footnotes on pages 271–272.

In 1856, the latest year for which the details are available, there were in the district one Civil or Zillah Judge, one Assistant Judge, one Subordinate Judge, one Principal Sadr Amin, one Sadr Amin and one District Munsif, all with their headquarters at Kumbakonam. There were also District Munsifs at Kivalur, Valangiman, Mayuram, Pattukkottai, Mannargudi, Tiruvarur, Nannilam, Sirkali and Tiruthuraipundi. The Tanjore district has been well known for litigation and even in 1856 it kept up its reputation in this respect, the total number of original suits filed in all the courts in that year in the district being no less than 17,059 involving amounts of no less than Rs. 9,99,461. In the number of suits filed, the district stood first in the whole State, Malabar standing second with 14,967 suits. The bulk of the litigation was in the lower courts. There were thus 6,888 suits pending and instituted in the Village Munsif's Courts, the highest figure in the whole State, of which, 1,252 were decreed on merits, 2,225 were disposed of by razinamah and 1,885 were dismissed. The gross value of the suits disposed of by these courts amounted to Rs. 26,819, which is again the highest figure in the State. There were also 16,166 suits pending, instituted and referred to in the District Munsif's Courts, of which 3,884 were decreed on merits, 3,221 were disposed of by razinamah and 3,432 were dismissed. The gross value of these suits amounted to Rupees 5,75,591 ; and these figures were comparatively very high in the State [1]

Turning to criminal justice, by the Cornwallis system introduced in the district in 1806, the Zillah Judge of Kumbakonam became the Zillah Magistrate and was empowered to dispose of all petty criminal cases [2] in accordance with the Muslim law which was declared to be the criminal law of the State. He was assisted by a Kazi and a Mufti who as Law Officers expounded the Muslim law in his court [3]. He disposed of all petty offences, such as abusive language, calumny, inconsiderable assaults or affrays by imprisonment for a term not exceeding 15 days or by a fine not exceeding Rs. 50, except in the case of zamindars and other landed proprietors in which case he was authorised to impose a fine up to Rs. 200. [4] He disposed of also all petty thefts by the infliction of corporal punishment not exceeding 30 rattans or by imprisonment for a period not exceeding one month. [5] All other cases he had to commit for trial before the Southern Court of Circuit. [6]

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[1] Report of the Sadr Adalat on Civil Justice for 1856, pages 3, 8, 10, 37–38.

[2] Regulation VI, 1802.

[3] Judicial Consultations, dated 19th April 1808 ; 27th April 1808 ; Regulation VII, 1802, Section 15.

[4] Regulation VI, 1802, Section 8.

[5] Regulation VI, 1802, Sections, 9–10.

[6] Regulation VII, 1802.

The Court of Circuit sent one of its Judges on Circuit with a Kazi and a Mufti periodically to the Tanjore and other districts within its jurisdiction for the trial of sessions cases. This court could finally dispose of all cases committed for trial except those involving sentence of death or imprisonment for life wherein it dissented from the fatwa of the Muslim Law Officers. Sentences of death or imprisonment for life it had to refer for final sentence to the Foujdari Adalat.[1] It had to be guided in its decisions entirely by the rules of Muslim law as expounded by the fatwas of the Kazi and the Mufti.[2] But it was authorised to commute certain harsh penalties prescribed by the Muslim law to imprisonment. It could commute Deyut, or the price of blood, in cases of homicide to imprisonment for a term of years;[3] and it could commute Hud, or amputation, to imprisonemnt for 14 years in the case of a prisoner adjudged to lose two limbs and for seven years in the case of a prisoner adjudged to lose one limb by the fatwas of the Law Officers.[4] In fact punishment by mutilation was entirely forbidden. It had also powers to visit the crime of perjury with the punishment of Tasheer or public exposure or corporal punishment or imprisonment.[5] The Foujdari Adalat had powers to dispose of all cases referred to it for final sentence and to punish the crime of murder with death.[6] In other cases it had to be guided by the fatwas of their Law Officers, the Kazi and the Mufti. Whenever, however, it considered the penalties awarded in those fatwas too severe or unwarranted by the evidence, it could represent the case to the Government with a view to mitigating or entirely remitting the punishment adjudged.[7] In cases in which a sentence of imprisonment for life or for a limited period not less than seven years was adjudged, it could order the prisoner to be transported beyond the sea.[8] It could also, after obtaining the sanction of the Government, offer conditional pardon to accessories in the commission of crimes with a view to apprehending or convicting the principals.[9]

Nor is this all. In cases of robbery by open violence in which discretionary punishment was awarded in the fatwas of the Muslim Law Officers, the Judge of Circuit and the Foujdari Adalat could inflict whatever punishment they thought proper. However, the Judge of Circuit could inflict only up to a maximum number of 39 stripes and imprisonment

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[1] Regulation VII, 1802.
Regulation VI, 1808.
[2] Regulation VII, 1802, Section, 15.
[3] Regulation VII, 1802, Section 15.
[4] Regulation VII, 1802, Section 21.
[5] *Idem*, Sections 36, 40.
Judicial Consultations, dated 9th April 1811, page 1573.
Judicial Consultations, dated 23rd April 1811, page 1590.
[6] Regulation VIII, 1802, Section 11.
[7] *Idem*, Section 11.
[8] *Idem*, Section 18.
[9] *Idem*, Section 20.

with hard labour in irons for seven years. Where a severe punishment was called for, he had to refer the case to the Foujdari Adalat or where a strong suspicion attached to the accused he had powers to demand security for his good conduct and appearance when required. [1]

In 1809 an Assistant Judge and Magistrate was appointed to assist the Zillah Judge and Magistrate of Kumbakonam. [2] From 1811 the Zillah Judge and Magistrate began to exercise more powers; he was empowered to inflict punishment on persons convicted by him by imprisonment not exceeding one year, by corporal punishment not exceeding 30 rattans or by fine not exceeding Rs. 200 [3].

A much more important change came in 1816; in that year the Cornwallis System was replaced by the Munro System. Munro who had been appointed in 1814 at the head of the Judicial Commission to suggest measures for the reform of the judiciary held that the Zillah Judge confined to his headquarters had hardly any opportunity to have an intimate knowledge of the people; that such knowledge could be had only by the Collector who in the performance of his revenue duties frequently toured the district, and that as this knowledge was essential for discharging the functions of the Magistrate and for controlling the police efficiently, the magisterial powers and the control of police should be transferred from the Zillah Judge to the Collector. This, he also remarked, was the Indian System in which the revenue, magisterial and police duties were combined in the revenue officer [4]; and his recommendation having been strongly supported by the Court of Directors, the change was introduced in 1816. [5] The office of the Zillah Magistrate and the Assistant Magistrate of Kumbakonam was now transferred from the Zillah Judge and the Assistant Judge to the Collector and his assistant and at the same time a Criminal Court was established at Kumbakonam presided over by the Zillah Judge to which the Magistrate was required to commit all cases not adjudicable by him, instead of as before, committing

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[1] Regulation XV, 1803—Sections 2 and 11—See also Select Report and Cases of the Court of Foujdari Adalat 1826–1850, pages III—VIII.

[2] Judicial Consultations, dated 8th September 1809.

[3] Regulation IV, 1811—Section 12.

[4] Judicial Consultations, dated 24th December 1814, page 858.
Judicial Consultations, dated 1st March 1815, page 872.
Judicial Consultations, dated 28th March 1815, page 1849.
Judicial Consultations, dated 13th May 1815, page 1888.
Judicial Consultations, dated 15th July 1815, page 2856.
Judicial Consultations, dated 19th August 1815, page 3070.
For a full discussion on the subject, See Selections of Papers from the Records at East India House, Vol. II, 1820, Parts I and II.
See also Judicial Consultations, dated 25th June 1816, page 2461.
See also Judicial Consultations, dated 8th July 1816, page 2612.

[5] Regulation IX, 1816.
Regulation X, 1816—See also Judicial Consultations, dated 18th November 1816, page 4760, ; dated 25th November 1816, page 4832.

such cases direct for trial to the Court of Circuit.[1] The Magistrates were empowered to apprehend offenders and in certain cases to pass sentence.[2] They were authorised to punish persons guilty of petty thefts and other minor offences by stripes not exceeding 18 rattans, by imprisonment not exceeding 15 days or by fines not exceeding Rs. 50[3]; in other cases they had to send the offenders for trial to the Criminal Judge of the Zillah.[4] The Zillah Judge could punish offenders in some cases with stripes not exceeding 30 rattans; and in cases of thefts, in addition, with imprisonment not exceeding six months, and in other cases with a fine not exceeding Rs. 200.[5] Persons charged with more serious offences had to be committed by him for trial before the Court of Circuit.[6]

The years that followed witnessed the gradual enlargement of the powers of all Judicial Officers of the district. In 1818 the Zillah Magistrate was empowered to delegate the whole or any part of his authority to his assistant.[7] In 1820 he was given jurisdiction over the British subjects residing in the interior for assaults and trespasses against Indians; their convictions, however, in such cases were made removable by certiorari to the Supreme Court.[8] In 1822 the Criminal Judge was authorized to take cognizance of burglary and, if not attended with violence, to punish the offenders with 30 stripes and imprisonment with hard labour for two years, but, if accompanied with violence, to commit them to the Court of Circuit. The Circuit Court was authorized to punish such offenders by 39 stripes and imprisonment by banishment for fourteen years, if the burglary was not attended with attempt to murder or wounding, but, if otherwise, on conviction, to refer the trial to the Foujdari Adalat[9] The Criminal Judge was likewise authorized to punish thefts not exceeding Rs. 50 and not attended with attempt to murder or with wounding by imprisonment with hard labour for two years and 30 rattans, but, otherwise, to refer the trial to the Circuit Judge.[10] The Criminal Judge was also empowered in certain cases to try and punish offenders for receiving or purchasing stolen goods[11] and convicts for escaping from jail.[12] In 1825 he was required to commit for trial before the Circuit Court all offenders involved in thefts exceeding Rs. 300.[13] As has been seen, an

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[1] Regulation X, 1816.
[2] Regulation IX, 1816, Section 18.
[3] *Idem*—Sections 32, 33, 35.
[4] *Idem*—Section 34.
[5] Regulation X, 1816, Sections 2, 7.
[6] Regulation X, 1816, Section 9.
[7] Regulation IX, 1818.
[8] Regulation II, 1820.
[9] Regulation VI, 1822, Section 2.
[10] *Idem*—Section 3.
[11] *Idem*—Section 4.
[12] *Idem*—Section. 5.
[13] Regulation I, 1825, Section 90.

Assistant Judge came to be appointed in Kumbakonam in 1827. This Judge became the Joint Criminal Judge of the Zillah, while the Subordinate Collector became the Joint Magistrate.[1] An Indian Judge, who came to be appointed at this time and who subsequently (in 1838) was called the Principal Sadr Amin, was constituted the Indian Criminal Judge and invested with the same powers as those exercised by the Magistrates but without jurisdiction over any Europeans or Americans.[2]

Then came the trial by jury and some humanitarian reforms. In 1827 a regulation was passed for the gradual introduction of the trial by jury into the Criminal Judicature and it was declared to be unnecessary for either the Judge of Circuit or the Foujadari Adalat to require a fatwa from their Law Officers as to the guilt of the prisoner, that being established by the verdict of the jury.[3] It is interesting to note that only the Hindus and Muslims were eligible to serve as jurors and that every juror received one rupee a day for his expenses. In 1828 the use of the rattan was abolished and the cat-of-nine tails was substituted.[4] In 1830 the 'korah' was also substituted by the cat-of-nine tails.[5] In 1832 the Magistrate, the Criminal, the Joint Criminal, and the Indian Criminal Judges of the district were empowered to adjudge solitary imprisonment in all cases cognizable by them.[6] In 1833 women were exempted from the punishment of flogging.[7]

These were succeeded by changes of a general nature. In 1833, Criminal, Joint Criminal and Native Criminal Judges were authorized to employ the Sadr Amins in the investigation and decision of criminal cases, except in cases committable for trial before the Court of Circuit. These Judges had powers to overrule the decisions of the Sadr Amins who were moreover declared not to have jurisdiction over Europeans or Americans.[8] In 1837 the Magistrates were authorized to send persons, not being Europeans or Americans, for trial,

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[1] Regulation II, 1827, Sections 2, 5.

[2] Regulation VIII, 1827, Act XXIV, 1836.

[3] Regulation X, 1827, Section 33.
Judicial Consultations, dated 28th December 1827, pages 3970–3974.
Judicial Consultations, dated 3rd July 1827, page 2046.
Judicial Consultations, dated 11th September 1827, page 2893.

[4] Regulation VIII, 1828.
Judicial Consultations, dated 15th April 1828, page 1091.
Judicial Consultations, dated 29th April 1828, page 1611.
Judicial Consultations, dated 20th June 1828, page 2158.

[5] Regulation II, 1830.
Judicial Consultations, dated 28th May 1830; dated 23rd February 1830, page 769.

[6] Regulation XIII, 1832, Section 4.

[7] Regulation II, 1833.
Judicial Consultation, dated 12th April 1833, page 1495.
Judicial Consultations, dated 26th April 1833, pages 1807—1808.

[8] Regulation III of 1833.

commitment or confinement to the Principal Sadr Amin.[1] In 1840 the Foujdari Adalat was empowered to dispense altogether with the fatwa but not with the Muslim law.[2] Until 1841, treason, rebellion or other crimes against the State had been tried by the Judges of Circuit or by special courts appointed by the Government and consisting of 3 Judges.[3] In 1841 the Government were empowered to issue a Commission to one and more Judges with or without Law Officers for the trial of treason, rebellion or any other crime against the State. The Commission had to report its sentences, whether of acquittal or of punishment, to the Foujdari Adalat; and the latter in turn had to report its sentence to the Government and await orders for three months before executing the same [4] In 1843 sentences passed by the Justices of the Peace in the mufassal (the Magistrates) on the British subjects residing in the district for assaults and trespasses against the Indians were made appealable in the regular course in the same manner as ordinary sentences passed in ordinary exercise of a Magistrate's jurisdiction and, when so passed, were declared no more to be liable to revision by certiorari by the Supreme Court.[5]

As has already been stated, in 1843, the district saw the abolition of the Court of Circuit and the establishment of the new Zillah Court under the new Zillah Judge, called the Civil and Sessions Judge, invested with enlarged powers.[6] The former civil and criminal court now became the civil and criminal court of the Subordinate Judge, and the Subordinate Judge began to exercise the powers of that court as well as the powers of the Principal Sadr Amin's Court.[7] The Judge of the new Zillah Court was empowered to exercise all the powers of the Judges of the old Court of Circuit[8] which now disappeared. He was directed to hold permanent sessions for the trial of all persons accused of crimes formerly cognizable by the Court of Circuit.[9] He could avail himself of the aid of respectable Indians or other persons either by constituting them as Assessors or members of the Court with a view to benefiting by their observations, particularly in the examination of witnesses, or by employing them more nearly as a Jury, to attend during the trial, to suggest points of enquiry and after consultation, to deliver in their verdict. He was, however, authorized to pass decision according to his opinion whether

[1] Act XXIV of 1837.
[2] Act I of 1840.
Judicial Consultations, dated 12th November 1839, pages 8684–8687.
Idem, dated 13th August 1839, page 6300.
[3] Regulation XX of 1802.
[4] Act V of 1841, Sections 1–5.
[5] Act IV of 1843.
[6] Judicial Consultations, dated 1st August 1843, page 2740.
Judicial Consultations, dated 15th August 1843, pages 2844–2890.
[7] Act VII, 1843, Section 1.
[8] *Idem*—Section 26.
[9] Act VII, 1843, Section 27.

agreeing with the assessors or jury or not; but, if his decision was in opposition to their opinions, it was to be referred to the Foujdari Adalat.[1] He had also the power of overruling the criminal sentences passed by the Sadr Amins.[2] The powers of the Magistrate were also extended, but an appeal was made to lie from his decision to the Sessions Judge[3]. The District Munsifs were also, in 1854, given criminal jurisdiction in petty offences and petty thefts[4]. No material changes having taken place till the passing of the Codes and the establishment of the High Court, we may pause now to give a glance at the state of criminal justice in the district.

In 1856, for instance, the same year for which we have given civil statistics, the district had one Sessions Judge, one Subordinate Judge, one Principal Sadr Amin, one District Magistrate, one Joint Magistrate and three Assistant Magistrates. The total number of crimes committed against person and property, like murder, rape, highway robbery, gang robbery, house-breaking, arson, embezzlement, fraud and forgery, were 637 in which 1,731 persons were involved. Besides these there were a large number of petty offences, like assault, theft and cattle stealing in which 17,623 persons were involved. Among the major crimes, house-breaking was the most prevalent.[5]

Shortly afterwards a series of important changes were made not only in the structure of the judiciary but also in the law to be administered and the procedure to be followed in the courts. In 1859 the Civil Procedure Code was enacted and this was followed by the Penal Code in 1860 and the Criminal Procedure Code in 1861. These codes replaced the Regulations and Acts hitherto governing judicial administration. The Sadr and Foujdari Adalat and the Supreme Court were, at the same time, replaced by the High Court established by Letters Patent under charters issued in 1862 and 1865, and the High Court was invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction over all the courts in the State.[6] Since then the three codes have been amended on several occasions

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[1] Act VII, 1843 Section 32.

[2] Act VII, 1843, Section 36.

[3] *Idem*—Sections 54, 55.

[4] Act XII, 1854; See also Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean—Vol. I, 1885—Foot-notes on pages 272–273.

[5] Report of the Foujdari Adalat on Criminal Statistics for 1856, pages 30–31.

[6] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Volume I, 1885—See Foot-note on page 274.

G.O. Nos. 37–40, Judicial, dated 10th June 1859.
G.O. Nos. 99–100, Judicial, dated 11th August 1862.
G.O. Nos. 18–19, Judicial, dated 3rd December 1862.
G.O Nos. 26–31-A, Judicial, dated 5th August 1862.
G.O. No. 180, Judicial, dated 15th August 1862.
G.O. Nos. 39–40, Judicial, dated 12th January 1863.
G.O. Nos. 83–84, Judicial, dated 12th March 1866.
G.O. Nos. 341–342, Judicial, dated 25th October 1866.

and a large number of Acts have been passed defining the law governing specific subjects. It is neither possible nor necessary to enter here into this vast field of legal enactments. But it must be stated that, after the codification of the law, the Kazis, the Muftis and the Pandits disappeared from the courts and that, about the same time, the constitution and jurisdiction of the courts themselves underwent some important changes. The present set-up of the Civil Courts came into existence in 1873 by the passing of the Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873 [1]; and the present set-up of the Criminal Courts came into existence in 1872 by the passing of the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872.[2] Under the Civil Courts Act of 1873 the civil judiciary in the district came to consist of the District Court, the Subordinate Judge's Court and the District Munsifs' Courts; and the Courts of the Assistant Judge, the Principal Sadr Amin and the Sadr Amins now ceased to exist. The Principal Sadr Amin now became the Subordinate Judge and the Sadr Amin now became the District Munsif.[3] Under the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872, the criminal judiciary in the district came to consist of the Sessions Court, and the Courts of the First, the Second and the Third Class Magistrates. The Village Munsifs' Courts and the Panchayat Courts, however, continued to function governed by the Regulations IV and V of 1816 as amended by the Madras Act IV of 1883 and Act I of 1889.

The administration of civil justice is now under the exclusive superintendence of the High Court. The High Court originally consisted of a Chief Justice and a few Puisne Judges. The Chief Justice and one of the Puisne Judges were Barristers of the United Kingdom, while the other Judges were experienced members of the Civil Service. All these were appointed by the Crown[4]. Subsequently the Judges were increased and their appointments came to be made on the principle that one-third of them should be Barristers from the United Kingdom, one-third should be members of the Indian Civil Service and the remaining one-third should be advocates of some years standing in the High Court.[5] Under the new Constitution (1950) it now consists of a Chief Justice, and twelve other Judges appointed by the President under his hand and seal. No person is eligible for appointment as a Judge of the High Court unless he is a citizen of India and has for at least 10 years held a judicial office in India or has for at least 10 years been an advocate of a High Court in India.[6]

[1] The Civil Courts Manual (Madras Acts), 1949, Vol. I, pages266–277.

[2] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Volume I, 1885—See Foot-note on page 274.

[3] G.O. Nos. 151–152, Judicial, dated 17th April 1862.
G.O. Nos. 217–218, Judicial, dated 21st August 1862.

[4] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Volume I, 1885, pages 209–210.

[5] Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, 1930, Vol. I, page 294.

[6] The Constitution of India, 1950, Madras Edition, page 73.

The High Court has all along exercised ordinary original jurisdiction over all suits the cause of action in which has arisen within the limits of the City of Madras and appellate jurisdiction over all civil courts established throughout the State. It has also all along decided original cases by a single Judge from whose decision an appeal has lain to a division bench consisting of two Judges. It has, in the same manner, heard and determined appeals from district courts by a division bench of two Judges, and when the two Judges have differed in opinion, they have stated the question of law on which they differed and referred the matter to a third Judge. When important questions of law have arisen, it has had them decided by full benches consisting of three or more Judges. It has heard and decided all second appeals i.e., the decrees passed in appeal by the subordinate courts wherein their decision has been contrary to law or usages, or where they have failed to determine some material issue of law or usage or where they have made a substantial error in procedure. It has exercised powers of extraordinary original jurisdiction by which it can call up and determine any suit or appeal from any court subject to its superintendence. It has had powers to hold sittings for the relief of insolvent debtors and it has exercised testamentary and matrimonial jurisdiction.[1] And recently under the new Constitution it has come to exercise original jurisdiction, in respect of any matter concerning revenue and its collection.[2]

As to the civil courts in the district, the District Court at Kumbakonam continued to exercise jurisdiction over the whole district till 1860 when, owing to increased work, the district was divided into two and a new court was set up at Tranquebar. This new court was moved to Nagapattinam in 1873, was abolished in 1875, was re-opened at Tranquebar in 1878 and again abolished in 1884. The old court at Kumbakonam was removed to Tanjore in 1863 and after the abolition of the Tranquebar Court, it continued to be the only District Court till 1921 when the district was once more divided into two, called East Tanjore and West Tanjore, and a new court was formed at Nagapattinam.[3] This position has continued to the present.

The jurisdiction of the several courts in the district has practically remained unchanged from 1873. Ever since that time whenever Additional Subordinate Judges and Additional District Munsifs have been appointed to one and the same Subordinate Judge's Court or District Munsif's Court, one of the Subordinate Judges and District Munsifs has been called

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[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, pages 209–210.

[2] The Constitution of India, 1950, Madras Edition, page 75.

[3] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 202.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, pages 212–213.

the Principal Subordinate Judge and the Principal District Munsif respectively.[1] The District Judge and the Subordinate Judge have throughout exercised jurisdiction in all original suits and proceedings of a civil nature.[2] The District Munsifs exercised jurisdiction over such suits and proceedings till 1916 where the amount did not exceed Rs. 2,500 ; but in that year this limit was raised to Rs. 3,000.[3] Regular appeals have always lain from the decrees and orders of the District Court to the High Court ; and from the decrees and orders of the Subordinate Judges' Courts and the District Munsifs' Courts to the District Court, except where the amount or value of the subject-matter of the suit has exceeded Rs. 5,000, in which case an appeal has lain to the High Court.[4] In certain cases the Subordinate Judges have exercised the powers of disposing of appeals from the District Munsifs within their jurisdiction and the District Judge has, in such cases, exercised the powers of removing such suits to his own court, and, with the permission of the High Court, of referring any appeals from the decrees and orders of the District Munsifs preferred to his court to any Subordinate Judge under him.[5] And finally all the courts have all along administered the Hindu or Muslim law in all matters regarding succession, inheritance, marriage or caste or any religious usage or institution, according as the parties involved have been Hindus or Muslims. Where, however, these have not existed, they have followed any custom having the force of law unless such custom has been by legislative enactment altered ; and where no specific rule has existed, they have acted according to justice, equity and good conscience.[6]

The Village Munsifs and the Village Panchayats have all along continued to exercise petty civil powers. We have already seen that the Village Munsifs since 1816 exercised civil judicial powers in simple disputes. In 1883 (Madras Act IV of 1883), their powers were extended to suits for personal property up to Rs. 20, their decisions not being open to appeal. They were also empowered, in case the parties consented, to try and determine similar suits up to Rs. 100 as arbitrators. They were likewise empowered, when the parties agreed, to summon panchayats as before to decide suits for personal property of any value.[7] By the Village Courts Act of 1889 (Madras Act I of 1889) the Village Munsif's Courts as

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[1] Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873, Sections 4 and 4-A.

[2] *Idem*, Section 12.

[3] *Idem*, Section 12 and Madras Civil Courts (Amendment) Act, 1916, Section 2.

[4] *Idem*, Section 13.

[5] *Idem*, Section 13.

[6] Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873—Section 16.

[7] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, pages 212–213.

well as the new Panchayat Courts that could be constituted for one or more villages, were invested with powers to try civil suits up to Rs. 50 and, where the parties gave their consent in writing, up to Rs. 200.[1]

It may be stated here that there have also been revenue courts from 1822. The Collectors, Sub-Collectors and Assistant and Deputy Collectors in charge of a division have been authorized to sit as revenue courts and exercise judicial powers under Madras Regulations IX of 1822, III of 1823 and III of 1832 on charges against revenue subordinates for corruption, exaction, embezzlement, etc.[2]; under Madras Regulation VI of 1831 repealed by Madras Hereditary Village Officers Act III of 1895 on claims to hereditary village offices[3]; and under Madras Act VIII of 1865 repealed by the Madras Estates Land Act I of 1908 on disputes between the landlord and tenant in which no title is involved.[4] The revenue courts have also under the Acts of 1865 and 1908 exercised powers to enforce terms of tenancy, to compel the exchange of pattas and muchilikas, to settle rates of assessment or rent, to order sales under distraint, etc.

So much about the courts in general. In Tanjore, the Subordinate Judge, Kumbakonam, has from a long time (except between 1928 and 1932) been empowered to entertain appeals direct from the decisions of the District Munsifs of Kumbakonam and Valangiman (at Kumbakonam) instead of the old practice of these appeals having to be filed in the District Court and later on transferred to either of the two Subordinate Judges (Tanjore and Kumbakonam) for disposal. In 1939 the Subordinate Judge of Kumbakonam was also appointed as the Assistant Sessions Judge of that Sessions Division. Under the Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873 there were five Subordinate Courts in the district, at Kumbakonam, Mayuram, Nagapattinam, Tanjore and Tiruvarur. The Subordinate Courts at Nagapattinam and Tiruvarur were, however, abolished in 1932 and 1938 respectively.[5] There was also a District Munsif's Court formerly at Nannilam, but this was subsequently abolished. There were likewise formerly two Courts of Small Causes established under the Madras Civil Courts Act, one at Kumbakonam and the other at Tanjore. The former was established in 1916 and abolished in 1931[6]. It

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[1] The Civil Courts Manual (Madras Acts), Fifth Edition, 1940, pages 1854–1858.

[2] Regulations of the Government of Fort St. George by Richard Clarke, 1848, pages 434–441, 444 and 517–518.

[3] *Idem*—pages 507–509.
The Civil Courts Manual (Madras Acts), 1940, pages 1007–1025.

[4] The Madras Code, 1888, pages 230–251.
The Madras Code, 1915, Vol. II, pages 1107–1182.

[5] G.O. No. 2010, Law (General), dated 19th May 1932.
G.O. No. 4797, Home, dated 4th October 1938.

[6] G.O. No. 2378, Law (General), dated 11th June 1931.

had exclusive jurisdiction in Small Causes up to Rs. 500 arising within the Kumbakonam and Valangiman District Munsif's jurisdiction, and for a short time it was also empowered to hear appeals from the District Munsifs within its jurisdiction. The Small Cause Court at Tanjore was established in 1921[1] and abolished in 1924.[2] It exercised exclusive Small Cause jurisdiction over Tanjore, Thiruvaiyar, Pattukkottai and Mannargudi Munsif's jurisdiction. Both the courts ranked as Subordinate Courts.

As to the powers of the Subordinate Judges and the District Munsifs, under Madras Civil Courts Act of 1873, they were invested with the powers of a Small Cause Court up to Rs. 500 and Rs. 50, respectively. In 1914, the powers of the District Munsifs were raised to Rs. 100 generally and to Rs. 200 in the case of a few District Munsifs recommended by the High Court. In 1942 all District Munsifs were invested with Small Cause powers up to Rs. 300. In 1926 the powers of the Subordinate Judges were raised to Rs. 1,000. In 1946 temporary Small Cause Courts were established at Nagapattinam and Tanjore with the District Munsifs of those places as Principal Judges and with jurisdiction up to Rs. 500. The Official Receivers of East Tanjore and West Tanjore were appointed ex-officio additional Judges of these Courts to deal with suits not exceeding Rs. 300 in value.

It may be mentioned here that the District Judges exercise special jurisdiction under enactments like the Guardians and Wards Act, the Land Acquisition Act, the Provincial Insolvency Act, the Indian Divorce Act, the Native Converts Marriage Dissolution Act and the Administrator-General's Act. The Subordinate Judges also exercise certain jurisdiction under special enactments like the Provincial Insolvency Act, the Guardians and Wards Act, the Indian Succession Act, the Madras Hindu Prevention of Bigamy and Divorce Act and the Land Acquisition Act. The District Munsifs likewise exercise certain jurisdiction under the Provincial Insolvency Act and the Indian Succession Act.

Mention may also be made of the Official Receivers appointed under the Provincial Insolvency Act for the administration of insolvents' estates. Originally the Official Receiver was a part-time officer appointed for a fixed term of five years and remunerated on a commission basis. When the district was bifurcated in 1921, two Official Receivers were appointed. In 1939, they were made full-time Officers of Government, remunerated by salary. In the same year they were also appointed ex-officio Official Liquidators under the Indian Companies Act to carry on proceedings in the liquidation of companies ordered to be wound up by the High Court.

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[1] Notification No. 178, Law (General), dated 22nd June 1921.
[2] G.O. No. 2897, Law (General), dated 3rd December 1923.

Under all these changes the position of the Civil Courts in the district (East and West Tanjore together) in 1949, i.e., on the eve of the declaration of the Republic with which this book closes, was as follows. There were in the district 2 District Judges' Courts, one at Tanjore and the other at Nagapattinam ; 3 Subordinate Judges' Courts at Kumbakonam, Mayuram and Tanjore ; 11 District Munsifs' Courts at Kumbakonam, Mannargudi, Mayuram, Nagapattinam, Pattukkottai, Sirkali, Tanjore, Tiruthuraipundi, Tiruvaiyar, Tiruvarur and Valangiman (situated at Kumbakonam) ; 454 Village Panchayat Courts and 441 Village Munsifs' Courts. There were as many as 22,121 suits and appeals before these various courts. In no district in the State, save in Malabar, was there so much litigation. The Village Munsifs' Courts disposed of 1,136 suits ; the Village Panchayat Courts disposed of 3,763 suits ; the District Munsifs' Courts disposed of 4,140 suits ; the Subordinate Judges' Courts disposed of 1,593 suits and appeals and the District Judges' Courts disposed of 459 suits and appeals. Besides these courts, the revenue courts disposed of 1,191 suits.[1]

A subject connected with civil justice is the registration of assurances. As early as 1802 a Regulation was passed (Regulation XVII of 1802) with the object of giving security to the titles and rights of persons purchasing or receiving in gift, or advancing money on mortgage or taking on lease or other limited assignment of real property. The Regulation also aimed at preventing individuals from being defrauded by entering into any transactions in respect of any property that might have been previously dealt with, at obviating litigation regarding wills, and any written authority to adopt and at providing against injury to rights or title by the loss or destruction of deeds relating to transactions of the above nature. The Regulation came into force only in 1805 and the registry was placed in charge of the Registrar of the Zillah Court. The documents registerable consisted of sales and gifts, mortgages and certificates of discharge of mortgages, leases and other limited assignments, or temporary transfers of property, wills and written authorities to adopt. The registration was, however, optional [2]. In 1831 Officiating or Deputy Registrars as well as Zillah Assistants and Native Judges were permitted to perform the duties of the Registrar when specially appointed for the purpose [3]. In 1834, the Court of Directors suggested the enactment of a law for making registration of deeds relating to immovable property compulsory. But the suggestion bore fruit only in 1864 by the passing of India Act XVI of 1864. This Act was amended in

[1] G.O. No. 4715, Home, dated 4th November 1950.
[2] Regulation XVII of 1802—See also Act I of 1943.
[3] Regulation XI of 1831.

1877, 1879, 1886 and 1899 and was consolidated in 1908 by India Act XVI of 1908[1]. The chief object of registration is to obviate the difficulties arising from the purchase of a title to immovable property the validity of which cannot be checked. The Act provides the machinery for registration and lays down what documents should be compulsorily registered in order to obtain validity in a court of law and what documents may or may not be registered at the option of the parties. Ever since the passing of the Act of 1864 the work of registration has been placed in charge of a separate department under an Inspector-General of Registration assisted by a number of Registrars and Sub-Registrars. Tanjore was under one Registrar till 1920 when the district was bifurcated and placed under 2 Registrars, one at Tanjore and the other at Nagapattinam. In 1936 the Nagapattinam district was abolished, only to be revived again in 1946[2]. As for the Sub-Registrar's offices there were 38 of them in 1949 located in towns and important villages. In the same year these offices effected 77,485 registrations, compulsory and optional, relating to immovable property worth Rs. 5,07,81,500 and collected thereby fees amounting to Rs. 3,46,323. They also registered 1,199 documents relating to movable property worth Rs. 12,65,807 and realised thereby fees amounting to Rs. 7,626. They likewise registered 897 wills and realised thereby Rs. 9,429 towards fees. Tanjore, it may be stated, is one of the heaviest registration districts[3].

Another subject connected with civil justice is that of court fees. In order to discourage frivolous litigation and the filing of superfluous exhibits and the summoning of unnecessary witnesses, a Regulation was passed as early as 1808 (Regulation IV of 1808) prescribing the levy of stamp duty on every petition, answer, reply, rejoinder or supplemental pleadings in suits or appeals to the Zillah, Provincial or Sadr Court on all miscellaneous petitions and applications which were treated as pleadings, on sanads of appointment granted to Kazis and authorised pleaders and on all copies of judicial papers granted to parties on application. The scale of stamp duty ranged from annas 4 to Rs. 2[4]. In suits and appeals the scale was revised in the same year[5]. Complaints to Magistrates or Police Darogahs were charged a stamp duty of annas 8. Provision was at the same time made for the institution of suits in *forma pauperis*. In the same year by another Regulation (Regulation V of 1808) a scale of court

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[1] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 59.
Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. **Maclean,** Volume I, 1885, page 214.

[2] G.O. No. 480, Revenue, dated 9th March 1946.

[3] G.O. No. 2654, Revenue, dated 12th October 1949.

[4] Regulation IV of 1808, Sections 2 and 3.

[5] Regulation V of 1808, Section 3.

fees was prescribed on all suits. The fees collected by the Registrars, the District Munsifs, Sadr Amins and the 'Native Commissioners' were appropriated by them towards their remuneration; but the fees collected by the Zillah Judges, the Provincial Courts and the Sadr Adalat were credited to the Government [1]. No fee was, however, collected in the case of suits filed before the Village Courts which came into existence in 1816 [2]. In 1817, the stamp duty was made payable also on documents like promissory notes, bills of exchange, letters of credit, receipts, deeds of gift, sale, devise, lease, mortgage, etc., and the court fees leviable on institution of suits and appeals was also revised. The court fees varied from Re. 1 in suits and appeals not exceeding Rs. 16 in value, to Rs. 2,000 in suits and appeals exceeding Rs. 1,00,000 in value [3]. The Registrars, the District Munsifs, etc., continued to appropriate the fees collected by them. From 1834, however, the District Munsifs ceased to be remunerated with the fees and in lieu thereof were paid monthly allowances for themselves [4]. The next change in the court fees or judicial stamps was made in 1860 when a comprehensive Act containing several new provisions taken from the English Statutes was passed and made applicable to the whole of India [5]. Some minor amendments were made to this Act in 1862 [6]. In 1867 stamp duties on judicial proceedings were increased [7]. In 1870 another comprehensive Act was passed reducing the stamp duties and making various changes in detail in the judicial part of the stamp law [8]. This Act was amended in 1922 mainly for raising the stamp duties and thereby meeting the increased cost of administration [9]. A minor amendment to this Act was made in 1945 [10].

Coming to criminal justice the High Court has all along exercised original and appellate jurisdiction, the former in the case of the City of Madras and the latter in the case of the districts. It has tried all ordinary cases before a common jury and all capital cases and usually those in which the State is interested before a special jury [11]. Appeals have been usually heard by one Judge unless they relate to death sentences, in which case two Judges have sat and decided appeals. Appeals posted before one Judge have sometimes been referred by him

[1] Regulation V of 1808.
[2] Regulation IV of 1816, Section 32.
Regulation V of 1816, Section 13.
Regulation VII of 1816.
[3] Regulation XIII of 1816, Section 13.
[4] Regulation II of 1834; Act V of 1835.
[5] India Act XXXVI of 1860.
[6] India Act X of 1862.
[7] India Act XXVI of 1867.
[8] India Act VII of 1870.
[9] Madras Act V of 1922.
[10] Madras Act XVII of 1945.
[11] G.O. Nos. 11–12, Judicial, dated 2nd December 1865.

to a Bench of two Judges and appeals posted before a Bench of two Judges have sometimes been referred by them to a Full Bench consisting of three or more Judges. The High Court has exercised the powers of revision over all the criminal courts in the State, such as those of revising their calendars and sentences, calling for their records and annulling, suspending or altering their sentences [1].

The Sessions Court in the district has all along been the highest court within the limits of its jurisdiction. It has not generally taken cognizance of any offences as a court of original jurisdiction; it has taken cognizance of cases only when committed by competent Magistrates. It has held trials with the aid of assessors or jury [2]. It has possessed powers to pass the maximum punishment prescribed for each offence by the Penal Code; and, except in the case of death sentence, its sentences have been effectual without further reference, subject only to appeals to the High Court. All capital punishments passed by it, however, have had to be confirmed by the High Court [3]. It has also possessed appellate jurisdiction and heard and determined all appeals from the decisions of the District Magistrates and First Class Magistrates. Whenever the work of the Sessions Court has been heavy, an Additional Sessions Judge or an Assistant Sessions Judge has been appointed. The Additional Sessions Judge has exercised the same powers as the Sessions Judge; and the Assistant Sessions Judge has exercised all the powers of the Sessions Judge except those of passing sentences of death or of transportation or of imprisonment for more than seven years [4].

Below the Sessions Court there have been all along three grades of Criminal Courts in the district presided over by the Magistrates of the First, Second and Third Class. The Collector has exercised First Class Magisterial powers under the designation of the District Magistrate, and as the head of the district he has had jurisdiction and control over the other Magistrates. The Subdivisional Magistrates, whether Sub-Collectors or Deputy Collectors, have also exercised first class magisterial powers. The Tahsildars have been vested with second class magisterial powers, but they have rarely exercised these powers for the trial of cases. The Deputy Tahsildars as Sub-Magistrates have been vested with Third Class magisterial powers to start with and after six months have been invariably vested with second class powers [5]; and such of the Sub-Magistrates as do exclusively magisterial work have been

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[1] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, pp. 198–199.
Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, Section 31 (1).

[2] Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, Section 268.

[3] Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, Section 31 (2).

[4] *Idem*, Section 31 (3).
Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol I, 1885, pp. 198–199.

[5] Board's Standing Order, No. 139

designated as the Stationary Sub-Magistrates. As to the magisterial powers, the Magistrates of the First Class have throughout possessed powers of passing sentences of imprisonment not exceeding two years, of imposing fines to the extent of Rs. 1,000 and of whipping [1]. Magistrates of the Second Class have similarly possessed powers of passing sentences of imprisonment not exceeding six months and of imposing fines not exceeding Rs. 200 [2]. Magistrates of the Third Class have possessed powers of passing sentences of imprisonment not exceeding one month and of imposing fines not exceeding Rs. 50 [3]. The First Class Magistrates, when empowered by the Government, have also heard appeals from the decisions of the Second Class and Third Class Magistrates.

Besides these Magistrates there have been other Magistrates too in the district. There have been from a long time, from about 1861, Benches of Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Special Magistrates, mostly in towns [4] who have exercised generally the third or second class powers or sometimes even first class powers [5]. There have been also the village munsifs who have exercised magisterial powers in petty cases of minor assault, affrays, abusive language, etc., under Regulation XI of 1816 as amended by Act II of 1920; they have had powers to imprison offenders in the village choultry for a period not exceeding twelve hours [6]. There have, moreover, been the panchayat courts which have exercised powers of imposing fines in petty offences under the Village Courts Act I of 1889 [7].

Before leaving criminal justice, we may have a glance at the statistics relating to it in the district about the close of our period. In 1948, for instance, there were in the district (East and West Tanjore) two Sessions Judges, three Assistant Sessions Judges, one District Magistrate, one Additional District Magistrate, one Assistant Magistrate, five Subdivisional Magistrates, besides the Tahsildars, Deputy Tahsildars, Sub-Magistrates and Stationary Sub-Magistrates. There were also in the district 562 panchayat courts and 110 Village Munsif Magistrates besides some Honorary Bench Magistrates and Special Magistrates. The Honorary Bench Magistrates and Special Magistrates disposed of 7,753 cases. The number of cases before the other courts was 76, before the Village

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1 Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, Section 32 (1).
2 *Idem*.
3 *Idem*.
4 Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, Vol. I, 1885, page 200.
G.O. Nos. 172–173, Judicial, dated 29th May 1861.
G.O. No. 154, Judicial, dated 21st July 1874.
G.O. No. 156, Judicial, dated 16th February 1875.
5 G.O. No. 1729, Judicial, dated 14th August 1914.
G.O. No. 1537, Law General, dated 20th June 1922.
6 Criminal Courts Manual (Madras Acts), 1949, page 509.
7 *Idem*, page 815.

Magistrates, 541 before the panchayat courts and 33,705 before the regular courts. The number of appeals in the Sessions Judge's and District Magistrate's Courts was 568 and in the High Court 32. The total number of cases and appeals thus amounted to 34,922 which was a fairly high figure when compared with the other districts. The fines realized by the courts (almost entirely by the Magistrates' Courts) amounted to Rs. 2,55,374 [1].

This book closes with the year 1950 and therefore it does not deal with the important change introduced in the district in 1954, namely, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. The separation has a history of its own dating from almost the very inception of the Indian National Congress. We have dealt with it fully elsewhere [2], but here we must note that the agitation for the change was made mainly on the principle that the prosecuting agency should not also be the trying agency, inasmuch as such a combination of powers violates the first principles of justice and equity. In spite of the various attempts made from 1886, however, the separation began to be actually effected in the State only from 1949, only after the advent of the National Government. Under the scheme of separation then introduced the Collector and his subordinates ceased to have powers to try criminal cases, but their powers for preserving public peace and for maintaining law and order were retained in them. A separate class of Sub-Magistrates, Sub divisional Magistrates and District Magistrates possessing legal qualifications have been brought into existence purely for trying cases. This system, however, does not involve any change in the law relating to the administration of criminal justice [3].

Such is the history of civil and criminal justice. As to the police, that too has had a long and interesting history. When the British took over the administration of the district (1799), the police duties were performed by Kavalkars (watchers) who had under them a number of Vicharippukars (investigators) and Talaiyaris (village watchers). There were thus in 1,810, 450 Kavalkars having jurisdiction over 4,690 villages with 5,763 Talaiyaris under them; they were also stated to have had under them a good number of Vicharippukars. The Kavalkars came mostly from the Kallar caste, a caste which in those days was notorious for its turbulent propensities and which was also contributing a large number to the gangs of thieves and robbers. They were expected to protect the life and property of the people alike in towns and

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[1] G.O. No. 202, Home, dated 17th January 1950.

[2] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. I, 1949, pp. 184–240.

[3] Madras in 1950, pp. 40–43.
G.O. No. 3105, Public, dated 9th September 1949.
G.O. No. 78, Public, dated 10th January 1947.

villages and to make good the losses sustained by thefts and robbery whenever they failed to bring the criminals to justice. They were remunerated by inams and a share of the proceeds of the moturfa (professional) and house-taxes. But they seldom discharged their duties properly. Their ties of consanguinity and their cupidity made them very often collude with the thieves and robbers. Nor was this all. They themselves often levied exactions on the people and oppressed them instead of protecting them. It was reported that under their regime the people lived in terror and that hordes of Kallar gangs roamed about the country committing depredations with perfect impunity.

No wonder that this was so. It was an age of confusion and of utter dislocation of the central authority. The authority of the Raja had sickened and died, that of the British had not yet been firmly established. The Kavalkars became uncontrolled, uncontrollable and independent, while the Kallars, adepts in their marauding profession, met and planned secretly in inaccessible places, put on all sorts of disguises and being hand in glove with the Kavalkars swooped down upon the unsuspecting villagers and townsmen with a suddenness which rendered it impossible for the handful of the British authorities or for the people to offer any resistance. Houses were burgled, murders were committed, everything was looted and the booty was lifted with a swiftness and secrecy that baffled all pursuit. It was reported that between 1808 and 1813, 50 murders, 313 robberies, 386 thefts and 1,792 assaults were committed in which 15,104 offenders were involved. Many of the offenders made good their escape. Thus 46 out of the 116 persons accused of murder, 2,765 out of the 3,623 persons accused of robbery, 300 out of the 1,000 persons accused of theft and 637 out of the 10,315 persons accused of assault, remained unapprehended [1].

Under these disquieting conditions the Zillah Magistrate in 1809 appointed four Kotwals in the larger towns and three superior police officers called Daroghas with a contingent of 25 police peons under each in some of the notorious Kallar villages [2]. But this did not improve matters. The Government thereupon appointed a Special Committee for suggesting proper measures for establishing a regular system of police and, upon its recommendation (1813), abolished the Kaval system altogether [3] and substituted in its place a new system of police. Under this system each taluk was divided into one or two divisions and each division was subdivided into a

[1] Judicial Consultations, dated 21st May 1813—See Police Committee's Report.

[2] Judicial Consultations, dated 24th August 1810—See paragraph 8 of the Magistrate's letter.

[3] Regulation I, 1816.

number of Vuttums or circles. For each division a Darogha was appointed with a Deputy Darogha, 3 or 4 Tannadars and 40 to 50 police peons. Each Vuttum was also provided with a Vicharippukar in addition. At the same time, for larger towns, Kotwals with 4 to 6 police peons under them were appointed, and for the coastal towns, in view of their commercial importance, one European Superintendent was appointed with an adequate number of Deputy Daroghas, Kotwals, Vicharippukars and police peons. On the introduction of this new system, the Kaval fees were appropriated for the general police purposes, and as for the Kavalkars, such of them as were honest were absorbed in the new police and the rest were pensioned off, except those who possessed lands of their own. The Talaiyaris were expected to assist the new police, but actually they ceased to perform any police duties and became mere servants of the mirasdars[1]. All the police establishments were placed first under the Zillah Judge who acted as the District Magistrate till 1816 and thereafter under the Collector who became the District Magistrate. The Collector exercised control over the police through his Assistants and other revenue subordinates.

No sooner was the police reorganized than certain grave social evils and crimes peculiar to the district began to appear; the first of these was Sati and the second the kidnapping of children for selling them as slaves. One hundred cases of Sati were reported to have occurred between 1806 and 1813[2]; 20 cases between 1813 and 1816[3]; and 24 cases in eighteen months in 1820–1821[4]. Tanjore was the only district in this State where this practice predominated: "I look upon this inhuman practice", wrote the District Magistrate of Tanjore, "as one tolerated to the disgrace of the British Government."[5] But, though the Government deprecated the practice, they were not yet prepared to stamp it out by energetic action, for fear of offending the religious susceptibilities of the people. They therefore advised him to discourage it only by persuasion[6]. The Court of Directors, however, felt that mere persuasion was not enough. "This terrible method of proving her attachment to her deceased husband," they stated, "must be tolerated only if the widow of her own free will would resort to it." The Bengal Government, they said, had proposed to prohibit it in the case of widows who were in a state of pregnancy, who were intoxicated, or who were below 16 years of age as being contrary to the Sastras and established usages.

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[1] Judicial Consultations, dated 21st May 1813.
G.O. No. 335, Judicial, dated 19th March 1860.
[2] Judicial Consultations, dated 2nd February 1830.
[3] *Idem*, dated 6th April 1821.
[4] *Idem*, dated 27th July 1821.
[5] *Idem*, dated 2nd February 1830.
[6] Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. III, Despatch dated 1st March 1815, paragraphs 93–94.

These restrictions, they remarked, might well be enforced in Madras[1]. But the Government still hesitated to take any decisive step. The Foujdari Adalat, in the meantime, having made a detailed enquiry into the evil, suggested that it might be restrained not only by enforcing the provisions of the Hindu Law against it but also by requiring the Magistrates to carry on an intensive propaganda against it. The Magistrates of Tanjore and of other districts were accordingly asked to strictly enforce the provisions of the Hindu Law and to penalize all persons who contravened them[2]. But still the practice continued unabated in Tanjore. In 1821 the Assistant Magistrate of Tanjore reported that all endeavours made to prevent Sati had proved unsuccessful[3]. It was not till Sati was prohibited in Bengal (1829) that Madras took the decisive step. Stephen Rumbold Lushington, the Governor of Madras, then recorded a strong minute recommending its instant abolition. He condemned the practice "as revolting to the feelings of human nature," maintained that its existence was solely attributable to the "joint rapacity" of the priests and the widow's relations and asserted that it had no sanction in Manu's Dharma Sastra, which, on the contrary, had preached "an exalted course of temperance and virtue" to the widows. His colleagues concurred with him and so was passed Regulation I of 1830 for abolishing Sati in Madras[4]. Thereafter the practice died out rapidly in Tanjore.

The other evil, the practice of kidnapping children, was intimately bound up with slave trade and domestic slavery. The children were stolen to be sold as domestic slaves or to be transported beyond the sea. Kidnapping, slavery and slave-trade were rampant mostly in Malabar and Tanjore. Soon after the passing of the Statute 51 George III, Chap. XXIII slave-trade became a felony throughout the British Empire. But it was considered necessary to pass special legislation to enable the Magistrates of the districts to put a stop to the evil effectually. The Advocate-General held that the provisions of the Statute might be incorporated into a Regulation and the Company's Courts thereby authorized to punish the crime. The Supreme Government (the Government of India was so called at that time) also advised the passing of local legislation for the purpose on the lines of the Bengal Regulation X of

[1] Judicial Despatches from England, Vol. III, Despatch, dated 4th March 1818, paragraphs 36–41.

[2] Judicial Consultations, dated 6th April 1821.

Judicial Consultations, dated 27th July 1821.

Judicial Despatches to England, Vol. IV, Despatch, dated 4th January 1822, paragraphs 29–30.

[3] Judicial Consultations, dated 27th July 1821.

[4] Judicial Consultations, dated 2nd February 1830. See also Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 263–264.

1811. But the Government of Madras still held back[1]. Finally they pitched upon the only course which the statute provided. They asked the Magistrates in their capacity as Justices of the Peace, to arrest all persons concerned in slave-trade and to send them up for trial before the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras[2]. This course, it would seem, effectually put an end to slave-trade,but it failed to prevent domestic slavery. In 1820, in order to mitigate the lot of domestic slaves, orders were issued to the Magistrates directing them to penalize all persons accused of ill-treating their slaves as the Muslim Law did not sanction such cruelty[3]. This, however, did not improve matters. It was not till 1841 that the Government took courage to declare that no domestic slave could be sold or purchased[4]; and not till 1846 that they enacted legislation for removing the distinction between the master and the slave[5]. All these measures gradually banished kidnapping, slave-trade and slavery from Tanjore.

Meanwhile, a new system of police came to be introduced into the district. In 1859 the police in the whole State was reorganized and made into a separate Department. It was felt that the Collector-Magistrates through their Assistants and revenue subordinates were not in a position to exercise adequate supervision over the police establishments. It was felt that the control exercised by the Sessions Judges over the Collector-Magistrates was equally unsatisfactory, in fact, illusory, since the Sessions Judges were occupying the same status as that of the Collectors. It was at the same time felt that the existing police establishments demanded a thorough revision and reorganization. For all these reasons an Inspector-General of Police was appointed as the Head of the Department and under him were appointed a few Deputy Inspectors-General in charge of groups of districts and District Superintendents of Police each in charge of a district. The District Superintendents of Police, except in matters affecting discipline, etc., were placed under the District Magistrates. In matters

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[1] Judicial Consultations, dated 31st March 1812; dated 29th May 1812; dated 31st July 1812; dated 14th August 1812; dated 20th November 1812; dated 4th December 1812; dated 8th December 1812; dated 22nd December 1812; dated 28th June 1825; dated 22nd July 1825; dated 9th August 1825; dated 2nd September 1825.

Judicial Despatches to England, Volume 5, Despatch, dated 29th December 1826.

[2] Judicial consultations, dated 31st March 1812; dated 29th May 1812; dated 31st July 1812: dated 14th August 1812; dated 20th November 1812; dated 4th December 1812; dated 8th December 1812; dated 22nd December 1812; dated 28th June 1825; dated 22nd July 1825; dated 9th August 1825; dated 2nd September 1825.

[3] Circular Orders of the Foujdari Adalat, 1805–1846, Order, dated 27th November 1820, pp. 33–34.

[4] *Idem*, Order, dated 10th February 1841, pp. 258–259.

[5] Act V, 1843; See also Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Volume II, 1949, pp. 261–263.

affecting discipline, service, etc., they were placed under the Inspector-General of Police. And finally, each District Superintendent of Police was provided with a separate police staff of Inspectors, Constables and Village Police[1].

This system was introduced into Tanjore in 1860. The district was now provided with one District Superintendent of Police, 31 Inspectors, 1,503 Constables, 300 Village Inspectors and 900 Village Watchmen (Vicharippukars). The Talaiyaris who had by now become, as has been already stated, the mere creatures of the mirasdars, were completely deprived of all their police functions [2]. The district was divided into 16 Taluks, or more correctly divisions or circles, and in each division or circle were posted one or more Inspectors and a number of parties of Constables. At the same time separate Inspectors and Constables were stationed in the towns of Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam, Mayuram and Mannargudi. Separate parties of Inspectors and Constables were also appointed for jails, treasuries and courts and some parties were kept as Reserve. This scale of establishment was larger than that sanctioned in other districts; it was, however, purposely done so, because Tanjore was considered "peculiarly wealthy and populous" and therefore subject to more crimes. Thus, for instance, in 1860 no less than 842 serious crimes like murder, robbery, burglary, arson, etc., were committed in Tanjore in which no less than 3,077 offenders were involved [3].

The changes made in 1860 have remained the same in essentials to this day. The only important additional changes that have since been made are the re-employment of the Village Talaiyaris and the formation of the Criminal Intelligence Department branch and the Railway Police. In about 1880 it was felt that the disbandment of the Talaiyaris made in 1860 was a mistake, that their revival was absolutely necessary to aid the regular police in preventing and detecting crimes and that they were actually so employed by the people [4]. About the same time it was felt that in order to prevent refined crimes such as forgery, false evidence, poisoning, cheating and conspiracy it was essential to have a separate staff of police for criminal intelligence work and that in order to prevent thefts on railways and at railway stations, it was equally essential to have a separate Railway Police [4]. The Talaiyaris were revived in 1899 [5] and subsequently both the Criminal Intelligence staff [6] and the Railway Police [7] were organized.

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[1] Judicial Consultations, dated 4th January 1859.
Papers connected with the reorganization of the Police, 1859.
[2] G.O. No. 335, Judicial, dated 19th March 1860.
[3] Report on Criminal Justice for 1860.
[4] Madras Police Report for 1881.
[5] *Idem* for 1900.
[6] G.O. No. 1152, Judicial, dated 10th July 1906.
[7] G.O. No. 1463, Judicial, dated 8th October 1897.

As to the crime and criminals since 1860 the most noteworthy crimes of the district have been, as before, dacoity, robbery and house-breaking, and the most noteworthy criminals have been, as before, the Kallars. Besides the Kallars, the Koravars have also played no small part in the commission of crimes[1]. A Kallar Reclamation Scheme for improving the social and economic condition of the Kallars for inducing them through their own panchayats to co-operate with the police for the prevention and detection of crimes was started in 1923[2]. Its object was no other than that of reforming the worst affected Kallars without bringing them under the Criminal Tribes Act. But the scheme was found to be a failure and was therefore wound up in 1933 and the Kallars of the notorious villages of Gandharvakottai were then brought under the Act. Special police out-posts were also provided at these places to keep watch over the Kallars[3]. The Koravars[4], the Vettaikarars[5] and the Thottiya Nayaks[6] were also brought under the Act. It must, however, be stated that the Act no longer exists, having been abolished with effect from 1948[7]. As for the state of crime in the district, there were, for instance in 1949, 48 murders, 13 dacoities, 36 robberies, 931 burglaries, 373 cattle thefts and 1,956 ordinary thefts[8].

The duties of the police have been arduous in Tanjore not only because of the existence of criminal classes but also because of the occurrence of political disturbances in recent years. We have already seen in the chapter on Nationalism and Independence how political agitation developed in the district especially since 1921 and how towards the close of the Second World War and the beginning of Independence the Communists and the Black Shirts distracted the country. During all this period and till 1950, the year with which we close our book, the police were continually kept busy[9].

The district has also been the scene of a few riots in the present century. Thus, in 1920, a Hindu-Muslim riot broke out at Muthupet over a marriage procession[10]. In 1921, another such riot occurred at Sakkarapalli over a temple procession[11]. In 1934, a third riot took place at Virasingampatti when the police tried to prevent self-mutilation by hook swinging at the local Mariamman festival[12]. In 1937, a fourth

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[1] Madras Police Report for 1913.
[2] *Idem* for 1923.
[3] *Idem* for 1933.
[4] *Idem* for 1924.
[5] *Idem* for 1928.
[6] *Idem* for 1922.
[7] G.O. No. 84, Legal, dated 27th June 1947; G.O. No. 83, dated 28th April 1948.
[8] G.O. No. 3597, Home, dated 11th August 1950.
[9] See the chapter on Nationalism and Independence.
[10] Madras Police Report for 1920.
[11] *Idem* for 1921.
[12] *Idem* for 1934.

riot broke out at Orathanad owing to village factions [1]. And in 1943, a fifth riot occurred at Muthupet as a result of the quarrels between the Hindu Thevars and the Muslim fishermen [2].

The control of the police in the district is vested in the District Superintendent of Police who has his headquarters at Tanjore. He is assisted by 5 Subdivisional Officers with headquarters at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Nagapattinam, Pattukkottai and Mannargudi. The district is divided into 17 circles and contains, on the whole, 71 police stations and 4 out-posts. There are 18 Inspectors, 91 Sub-Inspectors, 263 Head Constables and 1,647 Police Constables, 1 Sergeant-Major and 5 Sergeants [3].

In regard to jails, when the British took over the administration of the district, the prisoners were for some years confined in ruined temples and other improvised or rented buildings. Prison outbreaks were then very common, and so also were common the outbreaks of diseases like cholera [4]. After the Zillah Court was formed at Kumbakonam, a Zillah Jail was built there [5]. This jail was for a long time under the charge of the Zillah Judge. In 1855, all the jails in the State were placed under an Inspector of Prisons. In 1858 the designation of the post was changed to that of Inspector-General of Jails and in 1894 to that of Inspector-General of Prisons. From 1864 medical men came to be appointed as Superintendents of Jails in the place of the District Judges [6]. When the District Court was transferred to Tanjore, a new district jail was built there. In 1909, this was converted into a Borstal institution, later called a Borstal School, and was intended exclusively for adolescent offenders between 16 and 21 years of age [7]. The object of the school was to improve the character of the adolescents and to train them in crafts like weaving, carpentry, smithery, etc., which would, after their release, enable them to earn their own livelihood and make them useful members of society. The school was, however, closed in 1943 to make room for the special jail then established for security prisoners during the war ; and the inmates of the school were transferred to the Borstal School at Palayamcotta [8]. When this special

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[1] Madras Police Report for 1937.

[2] *Idem* for 1943.

[3] These are the figures of 1954 supplied by the District Superintendent of Police, Tanjore, and the Inspector-General of Police, Madras.

[4] Judicial Consultations, dated 9th March 1808.
Do. 9th August 1810.
Do. 22nd March 1811.

[5] *Idem*, dated 6th March 1813.

[6] Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency by C. D. Maclean, 1885, Vol. I, page 177, See Foot-note.

[7] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Volume II 1933, page 215.

[8] Madras in 1943, page 16.

jail was closed in 1944 [1], the Borstal School was not re-opened, but in its place a Junior Certified School was opened in 1945 [2], to relieve over-crowding in the Ranipet and Chingleput Certified Schools. This school imparts instruction in the mother-tongue up to VIII Standard and also provides vocational training in spinning, weaving, tailoring, bee-keeping, etc [3]. In addition to this, there are two private Junior Certified Schools in Tanjore; one called the Gandhi Vidyalaya started by the Tamilnad Basic Education Society at Tiruchitrambalam [4], and the other called the Sri Ramakrishna Vidyalaya Girls' Orphanage at Tanjore [5]. Both these schools were started in 1950–51.

[1] Madras in 1944, page 10.
[2] *Idem* in 1945, page 22.
[3] *Idem* in 1947, page 26.
Idem in 1948, page 34.
[4] *Idem* in 1950, page 34.
[5] *Idem* in 1951, page 38.

CHAPTER XVI.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

Of the revenues of the district none has had a longer or more interesting history than land revenue. It behoves us therefore to deal first with land revenue and then with the other sources of revenue.

The various systems of land revenue administration that prevailed in the pre-British days have already been described in the chapters on history. It is enough to state here that when the British took over the district in 1799, they found that the 'amani system' or the system of collecting land revenue in kind had been replaced by what is called the 'pattackdari system', a system under which the collection of revenue from the mirasdars of groups of villages or pattackams had been entrusted to intermediaries called the Pattackdars who had agreed to pay a ready money revenue to the Government. This system which had been adopted with a view to reviving the country after the ravages of Hyder's invasion had in course of time not only become corrupt and oppressive but had also left the Government entirely ignorant of the actual resources of the district. Acco dingly the British lost no time in abolishing it and restoring the amani system[1].

Under the amani system it was supposed that the resources of the district could be ascertained through the aid of officers who inspected the crop at its growth, estimated the produce and divided it and, in performing these duties, came into intimate contact with the agricultural conditions of the district. It was likewise supposed that under this system the Government could always be sure of obtaining their share of the produce, whether the crop was scanty or abundant. Moreover, in those days, to collect the revenues in money was by no means easy as specie was scarce and large exports of commodities and returns in money were unknown. (The amani system relieved the ryots from the necessity of borrowing at extortionate rates of interest and from the dread of being called upon to pay the revenue when the crop had actually failed. Indeed, in Tanjore, where the cultivation was at the mercy of the floods, where the price of grain constantly fluctuated, and where the authority in power arbitrarily fixed the price of grain and prohibited its exportation or importation, the security of the ryots lay not a little in the amani system under which they and the Government jointly shared the risks. Again, the ryots having grown long accustomed to that system

[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 145–146.

and found all other systems oppressive, no amount of persuasion or explanation could induce them to accept any other system than the amani. Under this system the ryots also hoped to collude with the Government officers and to escape with a light assessment [1].

The system worked as follows. Previously to the commencement of reaping and almost immediately before the grain was entirely ripe, the monigars and taluk peshkars made a general estimate of the produce of the crops in the various villages by a close inspection of the state of the crop in each field. We are told that these monigars and peshkars, accustomed to the business of estimating, acquired such accuracy of judgment as to the quantity of grain which a given portion of the land would yield, that their estimates were seldom more than five per cent above or below the actual produce and frequently much less. These estimates were consequently considered a very necessary check in preventing thefts of grain when the crop was reaped and threshed. They were, when completed, scrutinized by the Tahsildars, modified or altered, if necessary, and transmitted to the Collector's cutcherry. When the harvest was got in the accounts of the actual quantity of grain produced were also forwarded by the monigar to the Tahsildar and by the Tahsildar to the Collector. The estimated produce was then compared with the actual produce and, in the event of any material difference between the two, the ryot was held responsible for it.

The division of the produce in the case of both the nanja (wet) and the punja (dry) crops was made under the supervision of the officers not from the estimated but from the actual produce. Out of the actual produce the Tahsildars deducted first what were known as cooly swatantrams, which consisted of allowances to the men who reaped and threshed, to the women who transplanted and performed other labour and to the village Kavalkar, the Kanakupillai, the washerman and the barber. These allowances, being in the nature of daily wages to those who could not afford to wait for the grand division, were issued on the threshing floor itself during the measurement of every day's work. The threshing and measuring were done between the hours of sunrise and sunset. A set of labourers would bring in a heap of produce which they had reaped and threshed during the day. After 100 kalams were measured off from it, the cooly swatantrams at a fixed rate on those 100 kalams would be taken from the remainder. The process would be repeated until the heap was exhausted. The cooly swatantrams thus separated would be immediately ordered to be carried away and what remained

[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 144–145.

would be stocked as public grain, as so much gross produce realized that day. When the harvest of the village was completed, an account of the gross produce was transmitted to the cutcherry to be recorded. From the account of the gross produce certain allowances were deducted as kovil maniyams, Brahmin maniyams, Kavalkar's yaralee and swatantrams to the carpenters, smiths and measurers and the remainder was regarded as net produce. In the nanja land the share of the ryot, the kudivaram, was fixed at 40 per cent of the net produce, and in the punja lands at 55 per cent, so that the Government share, the melvaram, was fixed at 60 per cent in the former and 45 per cent in the latter. The kudivaram of the ryot was fixed at a higher rate in the punja than in the nanja lands because of the greater risks involved in punja cultivation. The Government share so derived was stored in public granaries under the supervision of village officers and then sold as ordered by the Collector either to the mirasdars or to the merchants, whenever the market promised to be favourable [1].

This system was, however, in force only for four years, from 1800 to 1804, but even during this short period it exhibited a host of abuses and led to the appointment of a Special Commission to investigate them. The Commission revealed that from the very beginning the Tahsildars were in the habit of making illegal demands upon the mirasdars not only on their own behalf but also on behalf of the numerous servants of the Collector's and the Assistant Collectors' offices, that these demands resulted in the concealment of produce, in the lessening of the Government share, in the falsification of revenue accounts, in the unauthorized extensions of rent-free lands and, what is more, in the imposition of an illegal cess called 'Sheema Salavoo' by the mirasdars upon the cultivators. The Commission estimated that by the joint depredations of the mirasdars and the Government servants, the public had been defrauded of over 310,000 pagodas, i.e., over 12 lakhs of rupees. And it remarked that the successful embezzlement of land revenue had emboldened the Government servants to commit, without fear of detection, frauds in the management of other branches of revenue also [2].

While the amani system was being discredited, a new system, namely, the permanent settlement system came to be credited with wonders. It was thought that it would prove to be a panacea for many of the ills of land revenue administration

[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, pp. 146–147.
Board's Consultations Nos. 8–9, dated 27th September 1804; Nos. 21–22, dated 19th January 1801.

[2] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 151–153.
Board's Consultations Nos. 8–9, dated 27th September 1804.

and having already been introduced in most of the Northern Circars, in Chingleput, in portions of Salem and in the Western and Southern Palayams, it was proposed to be eventually introduced in Tanjore and other districts as well. As a preliminary to the introduction of this settlement, however, it was considered necessary to ascertain the actual resources of the lands and, for this purpose, it was resolved to introduce a system of annual leases for a few years [1]. It was thus that the system of annual leases came to be tried in the district for three years from 1804–05 to 1807–08. Under this system an estimate was made of the crop likely to be secured on the data furnished by the old accounts and the accounts of the amani system and the assessment to be levied was ascertained by applying various rates of division and a commutation price fixed by the Collector on a consideration of the probable commercial value of paddy at the time and for the ensuing year. The assessment, according to the old custom in Tanjore, was fixed in the gross for each village, but in 1804–05 in all villages owned by more than one mirasdar the apportionment of the assessment among the different holdings was left to the mirasdars themselves and a patta was issued to each of them specifying the proportion of the lump assessment payable by him. This was carried a step further in the settlements of 1805–07 when, even in the villages owned by single mirasdars, the owners were asked to apportion the village assessment among their fields. It is worth noting that the kudivaram in 1807 stood at between 50 and 60 per cent. It is also worth noting that a question as to whether any pledge of permanency had been given by John Wallace, the Collector, to the mirasdars formed years later a subject of much discussion and that it was finally held that no such pledge had been given [2].

By the time the third annual village lease came to an end, the revenue policy of the Government began to change. The Court of Directors of the East India Company began to distrust the permanent settlement and prohibited its extension to Tanjore as well as several other newly acquired districts. They, at the same time, began to look upon the ryotwari system introduced by Munro in the Baramahal (Salem) as the best system calculated to ascertain the actual resources of the districts, to render an equitable share and security of tenure to the ryots and to increase the public revenue concurrently with the increasing prosperity of the country. But the Government still adhered to permanency and, on the recommendation of a Special Commission (1807), ordered the

[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Volume II, 1949, pp. 124–127.

[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 171. Manual of the Tanjore District, pp. 494–497.

introduction of a village settlement with the idea of eventually making it permanent [1].

The village settlement, they ordered, was to be concluded with the whole of the mirasdars in each village, having for its basis the collective information afforded by the accounts of price, extent of cultivation and the collections of former years. The mirasdars were to be encouraged in every instance to undertake to pay the assessment of the villages and it was only when they refused to pay an equitable assessment that their villages were to be formed into muttas and sold to the highest bidders. To induce the mirasdars to agree, a reduction might be made in the assessment to the extent of 10 per cent. This would leave them a much higher rate of kudivaram than what they enjoyed at the period of the cession. The lease was to be limited to a period of three instead of five years as recommended by the Commission. The mirasdars of nearly four-fifths of the villages agreed to the terms proposed by the Collector on the basis of these orders. In the remaining villages, however, as there was no data available for making a settlement for a term of years, and as the mirasdars put up an opposition, either the amani system or an annual lease system was adopted [2].

In 1810, on the expiration of the village leases, those leases were in all practicable cases renewed for a period of five years with the mirasdars on the principles of the triennial leases. A few modifications necessitated by the bad seasons were, however, introduced. An abatement up to 10 per cent was allowed on the revenues of the nanja lands. Where the mirasdars might refuse to accede to a ready money settlement, a fixed mooree (grain) assessment, 55 moorees as the share of the Government and 45 moorees as the share of the mirasdars, was allowed. The proportion of the mooree was to be paid by the mirasdars according to the current selling prices of the day. Where the mirasdars refused to engage either for money or mooree assessment, engagements with the porakudi ryots were permitted, but in all such cases an allowance of 10 per cent on the revenue realized was ordered to be paid to the dispossessed mirasdars [3]. The amani system was expressly prohibited. In practice, however, in the large majority of the villages the money assessments were accepted by the mirasdars at an average reduction of 7 per cent on the rates of the former triennial lease. Some villages preferred the mooree assessment and others were actually allowed to return

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[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 127–131.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 128–129.

[3] *Idem*, page 131.

to amani. The results of this five years' lease proved to be more satisfactory than the previous triennial lease as, although some of the seasons were unfavourable, prices ruled high for four out of the five years. When, therefore, a renewal of the lease for another five years was proposed, the mirasdars agreed to it without demur. During this period 1815–1820, however, the prices fell again and the mirasdars, unable to profitably dispose of the grain, became serious losers [1].

At this juncture a general discussion of settlement policy took place at Madras. The Court of Directors had by now definitely pronounced in favour of the ryotwari system under which a settlement for a money assessment was to be made with the individual ryot, after a detailed survey of the lands. The Board and the Government resolved to accept the money assessment but decided to conclude a joint settlement with the mirasdars for the whole village. The mirasi tenure or the village system of land tenure that prevailed universally in Tanjore gave them a handle to arrive at this decision. In former times this tenure undoubtedly involved the joint management by the mirasdars of all the fields of the village or the distribution of these fields at stated intervals among themselves for their individual cultivation. It was for this reason that early settlements had been made jointly with the mirasdars of the villages. But in spite of this joint responsibility the system also involved individual rights to specific shares in the net produce. Each mirasdar's share (karai or pangu) was clearly defined and recognized within the village and herein lay the essential elements of individual ownership upon which the ryotwari system could be, as it was subsequently, grafted. The Board, however, at this time laid more stress on the joint ownership and responsibility of the mirasdars and opposed the assessment of individual fields. Accordingly they recommended and the Government decided that, although each mirasdar should be assessed with a part of the joint assessment in proportion to his share in the joint village property, yet the assessment should still be a fixed money assessment imposed jointly on the village and the whole village should still be held jointly responsible for its payment. The Collector would have to first proceed against the defaulting individual to recover the arrears of revenue, but, failing a complete recovery from that source, he would have to recover it from the whole village [2].

There is nothing to show that the mirasdars objected to their individual responsibility for the assessment, but owing to their recent losses from low prices they resolutely opposed the continuance of fixed money assessments. The Collector,

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol.I, 1915, pp. 172–173.
[2] *Idem*, pp. 173–175.

John Cotton accordingly proposed that they should be permitted to revert to the older system of paying a grain assessment converted annually into money at a commutation price which might vary with the selling price of the year. The Government accepted this proposal but ordered that the settlement should be carried out for one year, though they had no intention of altering it so long as it continued "adequate and equitable." The settlement thus lasted for one year; but in proposing the settlement for the following year (1821–1822) the Collector urged that a further fall in prices had rendered necessary a further reduction in the money assessment. Thereupon the Government, after some discussion with the Board, came to the conclusion that a standard grain assessment should be fixed for each village, that this should be commuted into a money assessment at the current selling price of grain and that this commutation price should be altered only when the current price fell by 5 per cent or rose by 10 per cent[1].

This was called the 'Olungu' (regulation) system, the term 'olungu' being used to imply a standard gross produce. Under it the standard gross produce for each village was determined by comparing the outturn of fasli 1229 (1819) with that of faslis 1210–1213 (1800–1803) when the district was under amani and also with the standard fixed by Dabir Pundit before the British took over the country. From this standard the village grain fees (swatantrams) were first deducted and then 50 per cent of the remainder in river-irrigated villages or 55 per cent in rain-watered tracts was taken as the mirasdars' share and the rest with the addition of all village swatantrams that had been resumed was taken as the share of the Government. The standard price at which this share was commuted into money was calculated for each maghanam upon an average of current prices for 5 years, namely, faslis 1225 to 1229 (1815 to 1819). This average was then compared with the current price of the year and any rise discovered beyond 10 per cent or fall below 5 per cent was added or deducted from the standard price and the result gave the jamabandi price of the year[2].

This new and complicated settlement was introduced in 1822–1823, a temporary settlement having been made for 1821–1822. A large majority of the villages accepted this settlement; others, however, still continued under the grain assessment converted annually into money or under the amani. Of those that accepted the olungu settlement many were

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 175–176.
G.O. No. 795, Revenue, dated 31st July 1882, See Webster's Report, dated 19th March 1881.

[2] G.O. No. 795, Revenue, dated 31st July 1882—See Webster's Report, dated 19th March 1881.

willing to continue under it, but the rest consented only to leases of one or five years. The increase in the price of grain by more than 10 per cent caused the assessment to rise by 3½ lakhs of rupees in 1822–1823. The Government, however, decided to forgo this revenue in consideration of the losses sustained by the mirasdars in the previous years. Some more villages accepted the olungu settlement in 1823–1824, and a further rise in prices that year increased the revenue by more than 16 lakhs of rupees. But of this 9 lakhs were remitted in consideration of the bad season and the poor outturn. It is unnecessary to watch the gradual spread of this settlement. But it should be stated that the number of villages that accepted the olungu settlement continually varied and the villages constantly passed either into the amani or the olungu settlement as the mirasdars liked. It should also be stated that the grain assessment fixed for each village under the olungu system was declared alterable, if there were any frauds in fixing it or if two crops instead of one were being raised by improved means of irrigation. It should likewise be stated that remissions were ordered to be given under the olungu system, whenever there were unusual droughts or inundations[1].

Shortly afterwards there came a change. In 1826 Sir Thomas Munro, the father of the ryotwari system, visited the district and having found that the ryotwari system could easily be introduced in it and that such a system was, in fact, desired by the mirasdars he ordered that a survey and settlement on the lines of the plan adopted in the Ceded districts should be introduced into Tanjore[2]. According to this plan, a beriz was to be fixed for the whole district and for every village with reference to all the revenue accounts available, including those of the pre-British period, and to the estimates furnished by the assessors and chief ryots themselves, and the village beriz was to be distributed over individual fields that had been surveyed and classified according to soils and productivity[3]. This plan, however, was not actually followed by N. W. Kindersley, the Collector. He, of course, conducted a survey of all the fields, but he did not conduct any classification of the fields according to soils or their productivity. Nor did he fix the beriz, the lump demand, of the villages according to all the revenue accounts available. He took mostly the existing accounts of the olungu settlement and the amani settlement and, with reference to these alone and the opinions of the assessors, taluk and other servants and the chief mirasdars, fixed the standard grain beriz of the villages. This he converted into a money assessment at the standard commutation rate

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 178–179.
[2] Tanjore District Manual, pp 584–585, 606.
[3] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Vol. II, 1949, pp. 136–138.

of the maghanam as fixed by John Cotton and this money assessment he distributed over the fields with reference to the kuditaram account, or account of classification of the lands furnished by the mirasdars themselves subject to correction by a staff of taramdars or classifiers appointed by him. The assessment was not liable to variation according to the current prices and it was called mottamfaisal (lump sum assessment), as its chief feature consisted in fixing a lump sum assessment on each village. The survey brought to light a considerable increase of cultivation (over four lakhs of acres); but the excess was taken into consideration, only when it was due to bona fide increase of cultivation. On the whole, the settlement led only to a slight increase of revenue [1].

When the details of this settlement came to the knowledge of the Board and the Government, they roundly condemned it, observing that it was a settlement entirely different from the ryotwari settlement which they had ordered to be introduced. They remarked that it smacked more of a bargain between the Government officers and the mirasdars, in which the more obstinate party had the advantage, than of a scientific settlement they had in view. They, therefore, in 1831, forbade the extension of the settlement. By this time, however, nearly three-quarters of the district, 3,079 villages, had been brought under the lump sum (mottamfaisal) assessment and 1,818 villages had been brought under the field (taramfaisal) assessment. The remaining villages continued under the olungu assessment until 1859, when the mottamfaisal came to be considered as the one best adopted to Tanjore and its extension to the villages under the olungu was ordered. The reason for this was the continued rise in prices which rendered the position of the mottamfaisal villages definitely more advantageous both to the Government and to the mirasdars than the position of the olungu villages which had called for frequent remissions on account of bad seasons and short produce. The extension of the mottamfaisal system was made by Sri V. Ramayyangar, the Special Deputy Collector, who subsequently became the Dewan of Travancore. He, however, made a lump sum assessment of the villages, and not a field-war assessment. An important rule also now came to be observed in regard to remissions alike in the mottamfaisal and in the olungu villages. The former practice of granting remissions in such villages on arbitrary lines was abolished and a new practice of granting them, under the ordinary ryotwari rules, only to such of the lands as became unproductive, was introduced [2].

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[1] G.O. No. 795, Revenue, dated 31st July 1882—See Webster's Report dated 19th March 1881.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 181.

[2] G.O. No. 795, Revenue, dated 31st July 1882—See Webster's Report, dated 19th March 1881.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 183.

So much about the history of the early revenue settlements of irrigated or wet lands which form by far the most important revenue area. In regard to the dry lands, they were generally, under the pre-British Governments, divided into three classes, namely, those cultivated with dry grains without irrigation, those cultivated with any other crops without irrigation and those cultivated with garden crops under irrigation. During the first three years of the British administration, the first two classes of dry lands were, like the wet lands, placed under amani. In 1803–1804 they were roughly assessed at Rs. 1-2-8 per acre with the option of coming under amani. From 1804 to 1807 they were partly assessed on an estimate of their productive value and partly on actual produce and prices. As to the third class of dry lands, i.e., garden lands, they had been, e cept in 1803–1804, assessed with what was in some places called a dinusu (kind) assessment, which varied according to the kind of crop grown upon it. But in 1805-1807 they were assessed according to the quality of the soil. During the three leases between 1807 and 1820, all the three classes were assessed at money rates. There was one uniform rate in each village for garden land and another uniform rate for the other two classes. The garden land rates were continued almost unchanged under the olungu and mottam-faisal systems, but the rates for the other two classes were altered from time to time. The Government share in these two classes of lands was calculated at 60 per cent and commuted into money [1].

No change was made in the mode of settlements of wet as well as dry lands till towards the close of the last century when the modern system of ryotwari settlement was introduced in the district. This system based upon a detailed survey and classification of soils had as early as 1855 become the only recognized system of settlement [2]. It had been since then introduced in district after district, but in Tanjore it was for a long time considered to be unnecessary under the belief that the existing modes of settlements there were quite satisfactory alike to the mirasdars and the Government. In 1881–1884, however, the whole subject of Tanjore settlements was considered afresh and it was decided to introduce the ryotwari settlement in that district also [3]. The survey of the district was begun in 1888 and the settlement was begun in 1889.

The lines on which the settlement was to be made were laid down as follows. A revenue survey showing all the physical features such as hills, jungles, roads, channels, tanks,

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[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 183–184.

[2] Papers relating to the General Revenue Survey of the Madras Presidency, 1858.

[3] G.O. No. 795, Revenue, dated 31st July 1882.
G.O. Nos. 804–5, Revenue, dated 2nd July 1884.

topes, houses and cultivable lands was to be conducted. In the case of the cultivable lands, the sizes of the fields were to be accurately shown. Permanent boundary marks were to be established and field, village and taluk maps were to be prepared. As to the settlement operations, soils were to be divided into a few series based on differences of composition, like the alluvial and exceptional, the regar or regada (the black cotton soil), the red ferruginous, the calcarious and the arenaceous. The alluvial and exceptional were to be further classified into alluvial and permanently improved, while the others were to be classified as clayey, loamy or sandy. All the lands were to be further divided into five sorts, the best, the good, the ordinary, the inferior and the worst. The grain outturn per acre of each class and sort of soil was to be then carefully determined by actual experiments with reference to the standard grains grown, i.e., paddy for irrigated lands and cumbu, cholam or some other grain for unirrigated lands. These grain outturns were to be commuted into money at the average of the selling prices for a series of years, generally 20 non-famine years, preceding the settlement. From the amount arrived at by such commutation a deduction of 15 per cent was to be made for marketing charges, and a deduction of $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ for vicissitudes of the season and for small uncropped areas like irrigation channels. Against the average value of the produce thus determined was to be set off the cost of cultivation, the estimation of which was to be done with every care. The items of cost to be usually included in the cultivation expenses were ploughing cattle, agricultural implements, seed, manure and labour required for ploughing, sowing and reaping, etc. The method of calculation of these was to vary according to the crops grown and the method of culture as well as the mode in which these items were usually paid, whether in grain or in money, or in both grain and money. Payments in grain were to be commuted into money at the commutation price adopted for the settlement. The cost of the bullocks and the implements of husbandry was to be distributed over the number of years during which they were estimated to be serviceable and other items were to be calculated for each year. The calculations were to be first made for the area which could be cultivated with one plough and one pair of bullocks and the required calculations for an acre were to be deduced from them. The expenses of cultivation were to be taken to be the same as had been already determined in neighbouring settled districts. The cultivation expenses thus arrived at being deducted from the gross assets, i.e., the value of the total outturn, the result would be the approximate net produce of the land under examination and half of this or rather less than half was to be taken as the Government demand. The straw was to be usually taken as a set-off against the item 'feed of bullocks'.

For purposes of simplicity and for avoiding multiplication of rates, the classes and sorts of soil which were alike were to be arranged in grades called 'tarams'. The values of half the net produce of the different classes and sorts of soil falling in the same 'taram' being very nearly equal, only one rate of assessment was to be fixed for each 'taram' and the rates so fixed were to be so adjusted that their descent from the highest to the lowest might be by a uniform amount in each 'taram'. Again, the productive powers of the soils being different in lands irrigated and dry, two scales of 'tarams' were to be adopted, one for wet lands and another for dry lands. And as all villages would not have the same advantages in respect of proximity to markets, facility of communication, means of irrigation, etc., villages were to be arranged in groups, generally two or three for a district according to circumstances. The irrigation sources were also to be arranged in classes according to the nature of the water-supply. All these factors were to be taken into consideration in correlating the assessments on the fields. The final accounts of the settlement thus arrived at were to be entered in a settlement register which was to be the foundation of the whole revenue administration containing, as it did, information regarding every holding, large or small. From this register a ledger was to be prepared for giving the personal account of each ryot and this was to form his 'patta'. The settlement so made was to last for thirty years. During this period neither the grain outturn nor the commutation rates were to be altered, but each ryot was to be free to hold or relinquish whatever fields he liked or to take up other available fields. There was therefore to be an annual settlement of accounts with the ryots and this was to be called the annual jamabandi[1].

At the time of the introduction of this settlement, the following tenures obtained in the district. There was one petty hamlet under the olungu system and another on a grain rent. There were 46 villages in the sandy plains in the south-east corner of the district which, owing to the extremely variable nature of their fertility and cultivation, had all along been treated separately, having been settled at a favourable lump sum assessment per village called kattukuttagai tenure. There were 112 villages which had been transferred to the Government from the Raja's private estate in exchange for some villages given to him and which had been leased out on lump money assessments for terms of years, and one similar village which had been leased out on a grain rent. All other villages were under the mottamfaisal settlements, the majority of them were assessed in lump and only about

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[1] Memorandum upon Current Land Revenue Settlements by E. Stack, 1880, pp. 333–352.
Administration Report, Madras, for 1901–02, pp. 68–76.

1,500 were assessed fieldwar. But whether the assessment had been apportioned fieldwar or not, the settlement had by now essentially become ryotwari in the sense that the ryots had been made individually liable to pay the assessment on their fields. Under the mottamfaisal settlement the form of individual pattas and chittas was introduced in 1865 and thereafter the only difference between the pattadars of Tanjore and those of the other districts came to consist in their holdings being estimated not in acres and cents but in fractional shares of the whole village. This peculiarity was, however, not considered to be an insuperable obstacle to the introduction of the ryotwari and fieldwar settlement. Nor was the periodical redistribution of lands among the mirasdars under the mirasi system considered an insuperable obstacle. For one thing, this practice was generally fast dying out and for another, where the periodical distribution of lands was persisted in, a periodical transfer of pattas could also be made with the consent of all parties [1].

As has already been stated, the ryotwari settlement of the district was begun in 1889. The work was entrusted to Mr. Clerk, who, in September 1890, submitted a scheme report to the Board, based on the classification results of three taluks, Kumbakonam, Tanjore and Sirkali taluks, these being selected as fairly representative of all classes of soils and irrigation sources. This he followed up by a report on the classification of the remaining taluks and the complete scheme was submitted by the Board to the Government in 1892. The Government having approved the scheme[2], all villages in the district were brought under the ryotwari settlement in 1893. No difficulty was felt in bringing the 46 kattukuttagai villages under the new settlement. Nor was any difficulty felt in bringing under the same the Government villages of the old palace estate ; the occupancy right in these villages was sold to the ryots and the settlement was concluded with them.

This was how the actual settlement was made. The irrigation sources were divided into five classes. The first class consisted entirely of river-irrigated areas having exceptional facilities. The second class consisted of river-irrigated areas as well as areas under large river-fed tanks and rain-fed tanks holding more than five months' supply. The third class consisted of other river-irrigated areas and areas irrigated by hill streams, spring channels and tanks holding between three and five months' supply and by percolation. The fourth class comprised lands under rain-fed tanks holding between one and three months' supply, while the fifth class comprised lands under small rain-fed tanks affording less than a month's

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 184–185.
[2] G.O. No. 697, Revenue, dated 31st July 1893.

supply. The dry lands were divided into two groups; those that were exceptionally dry and backward in prosperity were placed under group two and the rest were placed under group one.

The lands were classified under four main series, alluvial, regar, red ferruginous and arenaceous. Alluvial was divided into two classes, clayey and loamy with five sorts in each, the best, the good, the ordinary, the inferior and the worst. Regar was divided into three classes, clayey, loamy and sandy with the same five sorts in each. Red ferruginous was divided into two classes, loamy and sandy with again the same five sorts in each. The arenaceous was divided into three classes, loamy, sandy from one-third to one-tenth clayey and sandy under one-tenth clayey, and each of these classes was divided into three sorts, the best, the good and the ordinary. Soils of equal productive value were merged together with the result that 15 'tarams' for irrigated lands and 12 'tarams' for unirrigated lands were obtained.

The standard crops adopted were paddy for the wet lands and ragi, cumbu and varagu for the dry lands. The average yield of the various soils was ascertained by taking the average outturn sanctioned by the Government for similar lands in adjoining districts already settled and, in the case of paddy, also by numerous crop experiments. The average yield of paddy varied from 1,300 Madras measures per acre to 400 measures per acre; that of ragi from 400 to 120 measure per acre; that of cumbu from 320 to 110 measures per acre; and that of varagu from 550 to 200 measures per acre. The commutation prices of these grains were deduced by taking the average of the prices of the 20 non-famine years preceding 1891–92 and allowing 15 per cent for merchants' profits. For paddy a mean was struck between the prices of the first and second sorts. The resulting commutation prices gave Rs. 121 for paddy, Rs. 134 for cumbu, Rs. 130 for ragi and Rs. 76 for varagu per garce of 3,200 Madras measures. The cost of cultivation was determined with reference to the sanctioned expenses for adjoining districts already settled supported by numerous local enquiries. For the wet lands it varied between Rs. 14 and Rs. 5 per acre and for dry lands between Rs. 5–8–0 and Rs. 2–10–0 per acre. For vicissitudes of season and for unprofitable areas, such as field banks, etc., included in the ryots' holdings, an allowance of 15 per cent was made in the tracts irrigated by the river and of 20 per cent in the rest of the district.

We have already seen that all wet lands were classified into 15 'tarams' and all dry lands into 12 'tarams.' For each class the grain outturn arrived at was converted into money at the commutation rate determined. The percentage

allowance for unfavourable seasons was then made and finally the cultivation expenses were deducted. The result gave the net produce of the land in money and of this one-half was taken as the assessment. This half of the net produce was generally less than one-third of the gross produce. In the case of the rich padugai dry lands between the river banks and the field embankments two special rates of Rs. 7 and Rs. 5 were adopted without the ordinary calculation. The rates ultimately arrived at are shown below :—

Wet.		*Dry.*	
RS.	A.	RS.	A.
14	0	7	0
12	0	5	0
10	0	4	0
9	0	3	0
8	0	2	8
7	0	2	0
6	0	1	8
5	0	1	4
4	8	1	0
4	0	0	12
3	8	0	8
3	0	0	4
2	8		
2	0		
1	8		

It will be seen that the maximum wet rate was Rs. 14 per acre and the minimum Re. 1–8–0 ; and that the maximum dry rate was Rs. 7 per acre and the minimum 4 annas. Of the wet lands less than one per cent was charged either at Rs. 14 or at Rs. 12 per acre and less than 12 per cent was charged at more than Rs. 9 per acre. The highest rate of Rs. 14 was applied only to 900 acres forming an exceptionally fertile tract in the Tanjore taluk popularly known as the 'breast of Tanjore.' No less than 67 per cent of the wet land was assessed at from Rs. 5 to Rs. 8 per acre. The total wet ayacut of the district according to the settlement came to 760,000 acres in round figures and the assessment to Rs. 47,89,000. About 357,000 acres were registered as dry and charged with an assessment of Rs. 5,27,300. Nearly half this area was assessed at Re. 1–4–0 or Re. 1 per acre and a sixth part at rates below Re. 1. Of the remainder about a quarter was settled at rates ranging from Rs. 2–8–0 to Rs. 1–8–0 per acre.

The rates of assessment were declared to be exclusive of land-cess and village services. A reduction of one rupee per acre was allowed for baling in the case of the first crop and half a rupee in the case of the second crop if the lands were irrigated solely by lift. The special water-rates where they existed were abolished, but when water was taken to dry lands from first and second class irrigation sources, a water rate of Rs. 4 was charged per acre ; in other cases a water rate of Rs. 3 was charged. Tank-bed lands held on pattas were

classed as dry and assessed at a special rate not exceeding the highest rate of the district. The rate so fixed was to be paid in all seasons, whether the land was cultivated or not. All tracts of unfailing double crop lands in the western part of the district were registered as permanent double crop, half the first crop assessment being charged for a second crop. As regards the other double crop lands, composition was not allowed in the case of first class lands, but in the case of second class, third class, fourth class and fifth class lands it was allowed at one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth and one-twelfth, respectively. Manavari or rain-fed paddy lands were registered as dry and assessed at a rate higher than that of the ordinary dry lands. [1]

As a result of the settlement the revenues of the district increased by more than 12 lakhs of rupees thereby representing an increase of 29 per cent over the revenues of the previous settlements. The increase varied from 15 per cent in the Pattukkottai taluk to 33 per cent in the Nannilam taluk and 36 per cent in the Tanjore and Kumbakonam taluks. And yet the average rates of assessment were not high when compared with those of the other districts. The average wet rate came to only Rs. 6–4–9 which was less than that of Tiruchirappalli. The cost of the survey and the settlement amounted on the whole to Rs. 21,06,661[2].

The settlement also dealt with tree revenue which had a varied history. Under the pre-British Government the produce from the trees was either divided with the ryots or the topes were rented out or the trees were assessed at a fixed rent in money. In the first year of the British administration, the productive fruit trees were classified and a tax per tree of each class was fixed. In 1803–1804 the trees were exempted from all tree tax, but they were taxed again in 1805. In 1806 they were once more exempted from tax, but by 1810 they came to be taxed once more. The tree tax then fixed was continued almost unchanged till the introduction of the survey and settlement in 1893. In 1855–1858 a question was raised as to whether this tax should be abolished and a land tax substituted for it; but it was finally decided that it should be maintained as it gave satisfactory results and encouraged tree planting. However, trees on inam lands and patta lands and on private porombokes were then exempted and the tax was confined to topes (other

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[1] G.O. No. 697, Revenue, dated 31st July 1893.
B.P. No. 350, Settlement, dated 16th August 1893.
B.P. No. 56, Settlement, dated 30th January 1894.
G.O. No. 263, Revenue, dated 11th May 1895.
G.O. No. 3, Revenue, dated 8th January 1894.
G.O. No. 1537, Revenue, dated 25th August 1922.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 185–187.

[2] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 187–190.

than those planted under the tope rules) and to trees on waste lands, assessed, unassessed or poromboke. At the new settlement the tax on trees on assessed waste lands was discontinued. Trees on unassessed waste lands or public porombokes, however, continued to be taxed, but the claim to the ownership or right to tax trees on private porombokes, was forgone by the Government, as these had been included in the pattas of the mirasdars. The ownership of untaxed trees, when standing on inam or patta lands, lies with the mirasdars. But special rules govern such trees on all other lands. Those planted by the mirasdars on river or channel banks belong to them or their descendants; so also belong to them those in backyards owned by them or those planted by them on padugai lands within 20 yards of the river bank before 1864, the year in which the cultivation of padugai within that limit was prohibited. All other trees, however, belong to the Government [1].

The thirty years' period of the settlement having expired in 1922–23, a resettlement was carried out in all the taluks of the district in 1923–24. It was based on the proposals made by Mr. Jackson, the Special Settlement Officer. As a preliminary to the resettlement, the registry in the revenue adangals was thoroughly revised and brought up to date by a special revenue staff followed by a resurvey of holdings. The Government passed orders on the resettlement scheme in August 1922. As has already been stated in a previous chapter, there was some opposition to the enhanced rates introduced by the resettlement. But this opposition was borne down.

The resettlement was based mainly on the rise in the prices of staple foodgrains since the original settlement. No reclassification of soils was made except in rare cases, as the existing classification was considered to be satisfactory. Nor was any reclassification of irrigation sources made except in the case of some of the second class villages connected with the delta system, which by reason of their unfavourable situation were fit to be placed only in the third class. The Government, however, reserved to themselves the power to reclassify irrigation sources in the Cauvery-Mettur Project area. Paddy was taken as the standard wet crop and ragi, cumbu and varagu were taken as the standard dry crops, and the grain outturns for these fixed at the original settlement were retained. The commutation rate was calculated on the basis of the average price of these grains in the ryots' selling months for 20 non-famine years ending with 1919–20. This came to Rs. 221 a garce for paddy, Rs. 267 a garce for ragi, Rs. 263 a garce for cumbu and Rs. 168 a garce for varagu; which rates were 83 per cent, 105 per cent, 96 per cent and

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District Vol. I, 1915, page 189.

121 per cent respectively higher than the rates of the original settlement. In spite of this large increase, however, the Government ordered that in regard to the wet lands the existing rates should be raised only by 25 per cent in the case of the first six 'tarams' and by 18¾ per cent in the case of the remaining 'tarams'. They also ordered that in regard to the dry lands the first three 'taram' rates should be raised from Rs. 7, 5 and 4 to Rs. 9, 7 and 5; that the fourth and fifth 'taram' rates should be enhanced by 25 per cent and that the remaining 'taram' rates, with the exception of the last two (which were left unaltered), should be raised by 18¾ per cent. These moderate rates were further reduced in 1924. In that year, on account of the agitation in the Legislature, the Government having decided to limit the percentage of enhancement to 18¾ per cent in all future resettlements where the enhancement of rates of assessment might be proposed on the basis of prices only, that limit was retrospectively made applicable to Tanjore also. As a result of all this, the rates adopted in the district came to be as follows :—

Wet.		*Dry.*	
RS.	A.	RS.	A.
16	10	8	4
14	4	6	0
11	4	4	12
10	10	3	8
9	8	3	0
8	4	2	6
7	2	1	12
5	15	1	8
5	4	1	3
4	12	0	14
4	2	0	8
3	8	0	4
3	0		
2	6		
1	12		

These were not the only features of the resettlement. Lands registered as dry or manavari in the revenue accounts, which had been regularly cultivated with wet crops and lands from which water could not be excluded were, in consultation with the Revenue and the Public Works Departments, registered as wet wherever it was possible to do so without prejudice to the registered ayacut. Lands registered as wet which were cultivated only with dry crops were likewise registered as dry or manavari after ascertaining that they had not been deliberately converted into dry to raise valuable garden crops. The extent thus transferred to wet was 9,327 acres and the wet area transferred to dry or manavari was 1,661 acres.

Seven thousand eight hundred and one acres of poromboke land which were actually either cultivated or were fit for cultivation were assigned on patta, as they were not required for communal purposes; and 8,629 acres of such land which

were not so required but were fit for cultivation were transferred to assessed waste. Channels and pathways exceeding 20 links in width in patta lands were subdivided and registered as poramboke. Of assessed waste 9,925 acres required for communal or State purposes were transferred to poramboke and 2,498 acres of such waste to patta.

All lands which prior to the resettlement had been registered as double crop were allowed to continue as such and to pay for the second crop the same proportion of the first crop charge as they had till then been paying. In cases, however, where the retention of the old registration resulted in any hardships, the Special Settlement Officer was authorized to revise the registry. Lands registered as single crop or as compounded double crop prior to resettlement were registered as double crop provided the holders thereof applied in writing to the Special Settlement Officer for such registration and the lands were not so situated as to render the supply of water for the two wet crops uneconomical. Lands registered as double crop were made eligible for remission of the difference between the double and single crop charges, if the water-supply was insufficient for two crops in any year.

Under the resettlement, the extent of wet cultivation increased from 771,055 acres to 780,805 acres and the extent of dry cultivation decreased from 376,824 acres to 371,713 acres. The revenue at the same time rose from Rs. 49,60,708 to Rs. 59,25,565 in the case of the wet lands and from Rs. 5,48,728 to Rs. 6,33,647 in the case of the dry lands. The net increase of revenue, on the whole, came to 18·29 per cent over the original settlement; and this was well within the general enhancement of 18·75 per cent sanctioned by the Government. The settlement so made was declared to be in force for 30 years.[1]

But the policy of resettlement soon underwent a complete change. From 1930 onwards prices having fallen on account of the general economic depression, special remissions were granted in Tanjore as elsewhere and in 1937 it was decided to hold in abeyance all resettlement operations and the system of periodical resettlement itself was abondoned as a matter of State policy.[2]

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[1] G.O. No. 1537, Revenue, dated 25th August 1922.
G.O. No. 2219, Revenue, dated 12th December 1922.
G.O. No. 1205, Revenue, dated 7th August 1924.
G.O. No. 821, Revenue, dated 4th June 1925.
G.O. Nos. 924-25, Revenue, dated 18th June 1924.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. II, 1933, pp. 206–208.

[2] G.O. No. 3412, Revenue (Confidential), dated 20th December 1939.
G.O. No. 804, Public, dated 26th April 1937.
G.O. No. 1067, Revenue, dated 21st May 1937.
Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami, pp. 57–58.

The original settlement and the resettlement were applicable only to the Government lands. They were not applicable to the inam and zamindari lands; these lands were settled under different principles. Taking the inams first, when the British took over the district, they found that there were a large number of villages and lands granted as inams by the Maharashtra rulers. In 1809 a register of these inams was opened under Regulation XXXI of 1802 and in this register nearly all the inams were recorded. It was intended that on the completion of the registry a report should be submitted defining the tenures of the different classes of inams and distinguishing those that were resumable. But this was never done. What was actually done was that the Kavalkar inams were resumed in 1814 and the Karnam inams in 1820. Other inams continued to be held, some even without grants. In 1848 certain rules were promulgated for dealing with inams held under valid and invalid titles, but nothing came of this also. It was not till 1858 that a regular investigation of the inams in the State was ordered and an Inam Commissioner was appointed. The Inam Commissioner took up the investigation of the Tanjore inams in 1861. He found that they were of four types; those granted to temples, maths, mosques, churches and other institutions; those granted to choultries, water pandals and charity topes; those granted to various individuals as personal inams; and those granted to talayaris. He estimated the total extent at 230,650 acres and their revenue at Rs. 8,61,309. Some of these inams were sarvamanyams, i.e., entirely rent-free; some were shrotriyams which had to pay a jodi or light assessment; others were called rokka kuthagai, or money rented, which also paid a jodi; some others were called grain kuthagai which paid a jodi in grain commuted into money; while some others again were called ardhamanyams which paid half their annual collections in jodi. Several of these inams, he reported, were supported by sanads, but there were others also which were not so supported. He said that the sanads for these inams were of three kinds. Firstly there were the Sicca Sanads or original grants under the royal seal, secondly there were the Daftar Ruka Sanads and thirdly the Arzi Ruka Sanads, both being simply endorsements of the Raja expressed in general terms, in the one case, on the reports made by the Daftar Kacheri and, in the other, on petitions directly received from the parties applying for the inam, to the effect that "it be done accordingly".

The Inam Commissioner held that all the Sicca Sanad inams should be considered as valid; but that the reversionary right in them having never been formally relinquished by the Government, they should be settled under special inam rules. Those granted for religious or charitable purposes were to be

confirmed on their existing tenure so long as the services were continued to be performed. Those granted to individuals were to be treated thus. Even where the inamdars were unwilling to enfranchise their inams, the inams were to be enjoyed by the family from generation to generation and were to descend to heirs lineal and collateral and adopted, divided or undivided, male or female, but were not to be transferred out of the family and were to revert to the Government on failure of all heirs of the above description. Where, however, the inamdars were willing to enfranchise their inams and possessed heirs as above mentioned who were capable of continuing the family, they were to pay a quit-rent of one-eighth of the assessment; if they had only "terminable" heirs, i.e., a wife without issue or a childless widowed daughter, they were to pay a quit-rent of one quarter; and if they had no heirs of any kind, they were to pay a quit-rent of half. The rate of one-eighth was to be applicable also to cases of childless widows holding Sikka sanad inams and having heirs of any of the description mentioned above, provided they were not terminable. After the amount of the annual quit-rent had been fixed for enfranchisement of each individual inam, it was to be open to the holder to redeem it outright by the payment of a single sum equal to 20 years' purchase of the quit-rent. As to the inams held on Daftar Rukas and Arzi Rukas, however, the Commissioner considered them as inams held on imperfect sanads, to be dealt with under the general rules. These general rules prescribed that personal grants were to be confirmed to their holders according to their actual tenure. Succession in such cases was to be limited to direct lineal heirs and undivided brothers and on failure of such heirs the inam was to revert to the Government. Alienation of the inam was to be prohibited and adoption, except out of the family of an undivided brother or cousin, was not to be recognized. But an option was to be given to the inamdars to convert their restricted tenure into a freehold with full powers of alienation by gift, sale, etc., by consenting to the payment of the annual quit-rent of one-eighth, one-fourth, or one-half as the case might be according to their position in respect of their heirs. Similar benefits were to be given to those who had acquired the inams by gift, purchase, etc., but without the option of refusal. And both classes of inamdars were to be given the right to redeem the inams by paying 20 years' purchase of quit-rent. As to the Talayari inams, their services having been dispensed with (as already mentioned in a previous chapter), they were to be enfranchised on a quit-rent equal to half their assessment.

The Government having agreed to all these proposals, the Tanjore inams were settled by the Commissioner on the lines indicated above. Four hundred and fifty-three villages under the sarvamanyam tenure became fully exempt, 600 shrotrium villages were charged with jodi, 46 villages were charged with

a higher quit-rent, 11 were assessed with a fixed grain assessment convertible into money at the average current selling prices of the year and 6 ardhamanyam villages were charged with half the regular assessment.[1]

The other types of inams in the district comprised lands assigned in lieu of ready money allowances to temples and mosques in 1863. The temples and mosques were drawing money allowances from the treasury to the amount of over one lakh of rupees, and objections having been taken in England to direct payments to religious institutions, these were converted into assignments of land revenue of a value equal to the payments plus ten per cent to cover vicissitudes of season and cost of collection. These inam lands, locally called mohini inam lands, have since been classified as ryotwari lands and the old allowances in cash amounting to Rs. 1,16,890 for the whole district have been restored.

There was a private estate of the late Raja consisting of some 190 villages and detached pieces of land amounting in all to over 35,000 acres. It was enjoyed by his family through a receiver appointed by the District Court. It is, however, now no longer under the receiver having been partitioned under a decree of the Civil Court amongst the various distant relations of the old Raja.[2]

There were also formerly in the district thirteen small estates called palayams held on uncertain tenure. They are said to have originated at the time of the Nayak rulers who are credited with having brought the poligar system from the north, where, under the Vijayanagar Empire, it was very common. They were probably created to control the wild Maravar and Kallar tribes, for they were all situated in the upland tracts of the Tanjore and Pattukkottai taluks. None of these palayams were permanently settled under Regulation XXV of 1802; nor were they settled under the amani, the olungu or the mottamfaisal systems. Successions to them had to be recognized by the Government and alienations of them were prohibited. But in 1865 the Government authorized the issue of istimrar sanads on the existing peshkash to such of the poligars as agreed to have their existing tenure converted into a permanent settlement. Eight of the thirteen poligars, namely, those of the Gandharvakottai, Palayavanam, Pappanadu, Kallakottai, Sillatur, Sendangudi, Konur and Pandirankottai, agreed and accepted the sanads accordingly. The total amount of annual peshkash that they paid was Rs. 22,358;

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[1] Collection of papers relating to Inam Settlement, pp. 70–78, 250–259.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 191–192.

[2] *Idem*, pp. 191–192.
Idem, Volume II, 1933, page 208.

the total ayacut area that they occupied was 151,109 acres; and the total number of villages that they contained were 186. The remaining palayams continued as unsettled palayams.[1]

Both the palayams, settled and unsettled, as well as the whole inam villages of Tanjore have been vitally affected by the general legislation governing estates passed in the State in recent years. The Rent Recovery Act of 1865 (Madras Act VIII of 1865), the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908 (Madras Act I of 1908) and the Madras Estates (Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act of 1948 (Madras Act XXVI of 1948) have all alike treated them as estates. The Rent Recovery Act of 1865 was passed to define the rights of the tenants in estates and to ' consolidate and improve the laws which defined the process to be taken in the recovery of rent.' The Act, however, failed to improve the lot of the tenants and the landholder was given the veiled right to enhance the rent on grounds similar to those upon which the Government could enhance the revenue in ryotwari areas. This led not only to exactions but to confusion in the minds of jurists as to the exact rights of the tenants. It was thought that their tenancy was from year to year and that they could be evicted at the end of the year. The position was not fully clarified till 1908 when the comprehensive Estates Land Act of that year was passed. This Act defined for the first time the substantive and relative rights and obligations of landholders and their tenants or ryots. It secured a permanent right of occupancy to every ryot who at its commencement was in possession of ryoti land or who subsequently was admitted to possession of such land. This right was made heritable and transferable by sale, gift or otherwise. Nor was this all. He could use the land without materially impairing its value or rendering it unfit for agricultural purpose. He could enjoy and cut down all trees planted by him after the passing of the Act, or those which grew upon his holding. He could make improvements to his land except when the landholder wanted it in order to benefit other ryots as well. He could not be subjected to any enhanced rent on the ground of the improvements effected by the landholder, unless it had been registered in accordance with the provisions of the Act. He had a right to have evidence of improvements effected by him recorded; and he had a right to the sole benefits accruing from such improvements. He was protected against all unlawful exactions and given the right to a reduction of rent in certain circumstances. He could also insist upon a patta from the landholder. The Act at the same time conferred certain rights on the landholder. He acquired a first charge for rent and interest thereon not only upon the ryot's holding but also upon its

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1. G.O. No. 2730, Revenue, dated 10th November 1865.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 192–193

produce. He could reserve mining rights, receive a premium when first admitting any person to possession of ryoti land, enhance the rent under certain conditions, and recover arrears of rent by a suit before the Collector by distraint and sale of movable property, crops, etc. The Act also provided for a survey of a record of rights to be made by the Collector in certain cases.[1]

Now, this Act brought under the definition of estate " any village of which the land revenue had been granted in inam to a person not owning the kudivaram right thereof provided that the grant has been made, confirmed or recognized by the British Government or any separated part of such villages." This definition was made to set right certain doubts that had arisen consequent on the Inam Settlement. The inam title deeds issued under that settlement were so drawn up that they conveyed an impression as if the land belonged to the inamdars irrespective of the fact whether they possessed the kudivaram right in it or not. As a result of this, some of the inamdars claimed the right in the soil to the injury of the actual kudivaram holders. An Act was, therefore, passed declaring that nothing contained in any title-deed, issued to any inamdar, should be deemed to define, limit, infringe or destory the rights of any description of holders or occupiers of the land from which any inam was derived or drawn. When this Act was passed, the Government held the view that an inam on the face of it carried only the melvaram right and that if any inamdar set up a claim to the kudivaram right also, it was for him to establish that right. This view which practically amounted to saying that the kudivaram right should be considered to belong to the cultivators unless the contrary was proved was upheld for a long time and the validity of this view was recognized by the courts in several cases and was presumed when the whole inam villages were included in the above mentioned definition of estate in the 1908 Act. But this view was completely upset by the Privy Council in 1918. In that year, in a well known decision, the Privy Council held that there was no presumption in law that an inam conveyed the melvaram right alone, and ruled that whoever claimed the kudivaram right must prove it in a court of law. This decision as well as some other decisions to more or less the same effect practically threw on the cultivators the onus of proving that they possessed the kudivaram right in each and every case. The hardship to the ryots involved in it was removed by the Government by amending the definition of estate by Madras Act VIII of 1934. The definition was changed by this Act into " any village of which the land revenue without the kudivaram has been granted in inam to a person not owning the kudivaram

1. Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. Y. Krishnaswami 1947, page 41.

thereof, provided that the grant has been made, confirmed or recognized by the British Government." The alteration so made virtually amounted to laying down that, if the inamdar of a whole inam village wanted to escape the provisions of the Estates Land Act, he had to prove in a court of law that he possessed the kudivaram right in that village. The onus of proving the kudivaram right in the case of whole inam villages was thus again shifted back from the cultivators to the inamdars and the cultivators were, for all practical purposes, considered to possess the kudivaram right. By Madras Act XVIII of 1936, the definition of "estate" was further extended so as to include within its scope any inam village of which the grant had been made, confirmed or recognized by the British Government. The effect of the amendment was to bring all inam villages within the scope of the Madras Estates Land Act. In the case, however, of inam villages which became estates by virtue of this amending Act, the inamdars were given an opportunity to prove that they possessed the kudivaram right in lands in such villages by lodging applications before a special tribunal. [1]

Meanwhile, the zamindari system in all its aspects came to be criticised, discredited and condemned with more and more vehemence. In 1937, in consequence of the agitation in the Legislature, the Congress Ministry appointed a committee presided over by Sri T. Prakasam, the Revenue Minister, to enquire into the whole question. On the basis of its recommendations the Estates Land Reforms Bill of 1938 was drafted. Both this Bill and a revised Bill prepared in 1939, however, could achieve nothing as the Congress Ministry soon afterwards resigned office. [2] In 1940, the Adviser Government, which succeeded the Congress Ministry drew up a scheme for the conversion of zamindari tenure into ryotwari by buying out zamindars and paying them compensation on the basis of net income. [3] In 1945 the Working Committee of the Congress issued a manifesto urging comprehensive land reforms, including the abolition of the zamindari system, and the acquisition of estates by the payment of equitable compensation. Early in 1947, after the National Government came to power, the legislature passed a Resolution accepting the general principle of the abolition of the zamindari system. [4] In pursuance of this Resolution, the Government as a first step

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[1] Studies in Madras Administration by B. S. Baliga, Volume I, 1949, pp. 93–94.
Extracts from Papers relating to Tenancy Right in Inams, Volumes I to III.

[2] Monograph on Rural Problems in Madras by S. V. Krishnaswami, 1947, pp. 43–44.

[3] Madras in 1950, pp. 58–60.

[4] G.O. No. 114, Legal, dated 13th September 1947—See the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

passed an Act called the Madras Estates Land (Reduction of Rent) Act XXX of 1947 for reducing the high rents which prevailed in the estates. It provided for the reduction of rents payable by the ryots in estates approximately to the level of the assessments imposed on ryotwari lands in the neighbourhood.[1] The Government also brought forward a Bill in the same year for abolishing all estates. The zamindari system, they stated, had perpetuated an assessment which was not only high but had also no relation to the productive capacity of the land. It had led to loss of contact between the Government and the actual cultivators. It had acted as a brake to agricultural improvements. It had allowed most of the irrigation works to fall into disrepair. It had, because of its complexities, brought in an immense amount of litigation in which the illiterate ryots had been placed at the mercy of the unscrupulous agents of the zamindars. It had rarely, if ever, resulted in administration as efficient as that of the Government areas, and consequently it had led to a great deal of discontent and agitation among the ryots. Indeed, the system having outlived its usefulness had nothing to recommend its continuance.[2]

The Bill was passed into the Madras (Estates Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act XXVI of 1948. It applies to all zamindaris, all unsettled palayams, and all whole inam villages except those which became estates by virtue of Act XVIII of 1936. When an estate is notified under the Act, all the earlier enactments relating to estates, except the Rent Reduction Act of 1947, cease to be applicable to it; and the entire estate, including all communal lands and porambokes, waste lands, pasture lands, lanka lands, forests, mines and minerals, quarries, rivers and streams, tanks and irrigation works, fisheries and ferries stand transferred to the Government and vest in them free of all encumbrances. The estate is then to be surveyed and settled on ryotwari principles by Settlement Officers appointed under a Director of Settlements who works under the Board of Revenue. The Settlement Officer is to enquire and determine whether any inam village in his jurisdiction is an inam estate or not in order to find out whether it can be notified and acquired. His decision is to be appealable to a Special Tribunal constituted under the Act. He is also to decide on application whether an under-tenure estate was created before or after the principal estate was permanently settled so as to determine whether the compensation is to be paid entirely to the under-tenure holder or partly also to the holder of the principal estate. The ryots are to be given ryotwari pattas for their holdings with

[1] G.O. No. 3, Legal, dated 7th January 1948.

[2] G.O. No. 114, Legal, dated 13th September 1947—See the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

effect from the notified date and the landholders, zamindars, inamdars and under-tenure holders are also to be given ryotwari pattas in respect of their private lands and certain other lands which had been in their continuous occupation from certain specified dates. Appeals from the decisions of the Settlement Officers in these cases also are to lie to the Special Tribunal.

Compensation is to be paid to the landholders only after the estates are surveyed and settled. Meanwhile, the landholder is to be entitled to an interim payment representing roughly the estimated basic annual sum. This interim payment is not to be counted against the final compensation. As to the method of calculating the basic annual sum in the case of the zamindari estates, the gross annual ryotwari demand in respect of all lands for which persons other than the zamindar are entitled to ryotwari pattas under the Act, and the average net annual miscellaneous revenue from all other sources in the lands have to be computed; and one-third of this figure has to be taken to be the zamindar's share. This one-third portion is, however, to be made subject to two deductions, a deduction of five per cent of the gross annual ryotwari demand on account of establishment charges and another deduction of three and one-third per cent on account of the maintenance of irrigation works which is the zamindar's responsibility. In calculating the basic annual sum for inam estates, the annual gross ryotwari demand and not any fraction of it is to be taken as the starting point. From this figure, three and one-third per cent is to be deducted on account of maintenance of irrigation works in the estate which the landholder is obliged to maintain. Then the quit-rent or the jodi, etc., payable annually to the Government by the landholder is also to be deducted. The balance represents the basic annual sum for the inam estate. The compensation in both cases is to be the basic annual sum multiplied by a figure which varies between 12 and 30. Where the basic annual sum does not exceed Rs. 1,000, the multiplier is 30; over one lakh of rupees the multiplier is 12. There are to be four intermediate stages 15, 17, 20 and 25 depending on the annual basic sum. Payments are not to be made direct to the landholders but are to be deposited with the two tribunals constituted under the Act. Provision is also made for the appointment of more tribunals when necessary.[1]

These are, in the main, the provisions of the Estates Abolition and Conversion into Ryotwari Act. This Act was amended by Act I of 1950 to provide for the payment of a portion of the compensation without waiting for the

[1] G.O. No. 75, Legal, dated 18th April 1949.
Madras in 1950, pages 60–64.

completion of the Survey and Settlement operations. Under the latter Act, the advance compensation is to be adjusted towards the compensation as finally determined. The Act also ensures the payment of a minimum sum of 12½ crores of rupees as compensation for all the zamindari estates taken over by the Government in the State of Madras as it was before the creation of the Andhra State.[1] None of the Tanjore estates were, however, notified for acquisition under these Acts till the end of 1950, the year with which this book closes.

In regard to the land tenures of the district, three systems of cultivation have been generally followed in the delta tracts, i.e., by pannai, by varam and by lease. In the first system, the land is farmed by the mirasdar's own pannaiyals (farm servants) under the supervision of the mirasdar himself or his agent. Extra labour is hired at the time of transplanting and harvesting to supplement the labour of the pannaiyals who are more or less serfs or tied men and of their wives whose services are at the mirasdar's disposal at less than the local rate. Under this system, the whole of the net produce, after deducting the cost of cultivation, goes to the mirasdar. The best farmed land in the district is that cultivated by pannai by a good resident landlord. When, however, the mirasdar is an absentee landlord and engages an agent on inadequate pay, the system is at its worst.

In the varam system, as its name suggests, the fundamental feature is the sharing of the crop between the mirasdar and the actual cultivator or porakudi as he is called. The mirasdar is responsible for silt clearance in the channels for lowering the level of the land, for trimming the bunds, for clearing the land of weeds and also often for manuring. With the sowing of the seed bed, the porakudi's share of responsibility begins and he meets all expenses up to, but excluding, the harvest. The whole expenses of the harvest are met from the gross yield of the field and the porakudi comes in for his share of pay for harvest labour along with the other hired labourers. Other village mamools are also deducted from the produce at this stage and then the varam is applied, the porakudi getting sometimes half but generally one-fourth of the produce. This is sometimes even one-fifth when the mirasdar advances the seed grain and the out of pocket cultivation expenses (tasu cooly) ; in this case, however, the seed grain is deducted from the gross produce before the application of varam. The position of the small porakudi is frequently not very different from that of the pannaiyal. He is often indebted to the mirasdar for a loan for the purchase of bulls. Again, he, like the pannaiyal, ususally gets a small area of land for his

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[1] G.O. No. 26 Legal, dated 25th January 1950.

private cultivation and this is called manaikollai. The big porakudi is in a better position being the absolute owner of his cattle and often employing pannaiyals. The varam system finds favour with the porakudi especially when the seed and tasu cooly are advanced to him by the mirasdar. For, in that case, he does not lose anything in the event of a failure of crop. But from the economic point of view it has been held that the varam system is radically unsound, inasmuch as the small share which the porakudi gets is not sufficient to induce him to put forward any increased effort, while the absence of proper control over cultivation does not induce the mirasdar also to spend much on manure. Consequently the yield under the varam cultivation is generally below that under pannai cultivation.

In the lease system the land is leased out by the mirasdar for a fixed payment, generally in grain in the case of wet lands and in cash in the case of dry lands. The line between lease and varam is, in practice, not very clearly marked. In a bad season, the mirasdar has frequently to be content with a varam division, but in such cases he generally holds the lessee responsible for the unpaid balance. Leases are commonly given for three to five years, though some of them are given for as short a period as one year and as long a period as seven years.

In the upland tracts the pannai system is rare, as there are here only a few big mirasdars and as all the smaller mirasdars labour on their own lands. It is only when a holding is too big to be worked by the mirasdar's family that he employs a pannaiyal; and this pannaiyal is a much more independent man than the delta pannaiyal. He is not tied to the land; he is a farm servant and not a serf. He gets a fixed monthly or yearly wage with or without food. He is not fettered by the subtle bond of hereditary interest-free debt. The varam in the uplands is also a simple arrangement. The mirasdar has here no expenses except the payment of kist and he takes as his share generally about half the gross produce. This share is applied to dry as well as wet crops. The leases too are here rare in the case of wet lands.[1]

Since 1950 (the year with which this book closes) this position has been changed by legislation in some important respects on account of a great deal of agitation on the part of the tenants and farm labourers. But as this Act falls beyond the scope of this book, we may rest content with observing that the Tanjore Tenants and Pannaiyals Protection Act (Madras Act XIV of 1952) has clearly defined and

[1]. G.O. No. 1537, Revenue, dated 25th August 1922—See paragraph 9 of the Scheme Report. Report of the Special Officer on Land Tenures in the Ryotwari Areas, 1947, pp. 146–153.

regulated the tenant and landlord relationship and fixed the maximum rents payable to the landlords and the minimum wages payable to the casual labourers and the pannaiyals. There are also now other reforms in the offing. The National Government have paid increasing attention to land questions. In 1946 they appointed a Special Officer and in 1950 a Special Committee presided over by Sri M. V. Subramaniam, I.C.S., a Member of the Board of Revenue, to consider and report on various tenancy as well as other land revenue matters. The reports of the Special Officer and the Committee are now under the consideration of the Government.[1]

Tanjore as the granary of the South naturally contributes the largest land revenue in the State. In 1948–49, for instance, its land revenue came to no less than Rs. 88,74,674. This was far above the land revenue of any other district. The district which came second was Malabar and it contributed only Rs. 46,44,793.[2]

Turning to the administrative machinery, when the British acquired the district, it was divided into five Subhas with headquarters at Tiruvaiyar, Kumbakonam, Mayuram, Mannargudi and Pattukkottai. These were subdivided into a number of taluks till 1860 when their number was reduced to nine namely, Mayuram, Sirkali, Nannilam, Nagapattinam, Mannargudi, Tiruthuraipundi and Pattukkottai. The tenth and eleventh taluks, those of Tanjore and Kumbakonam, were formed in 1910; and the twelfth taluk, that of Orthanad, was formed in 1954. The district was originally formed into two Collectorates, the Northern and the Southern; but in 1800 it was, along with Cuddalore, made into one Collectorate. Cuddalore was transferred to South Arcot next year and, from 1805, Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli were united into one Collectorate. This arrangement continued till 1809 when Tanjore was separated from Tiruchirappalli. The headquarters of the Collector was first at Nagapattinam; it was transferred to Tranquebar in 1845 and to Tanjore in 1860. Subdivisions of the district have been altered more than once; at present there are six subdivisions with headquarters at Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Mannargudi, Nagapattinam, Mayuram and Pattukkottai, and eleven taluks as already mentioned before.

As to village establishments, when the district came into the British hands, every village had an establishment of its own consisting of only the servants of the village community.

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[1] For the recommendation of the Committee, see its First and Second Reports issued in 1951.

[2] G.O. No. 2009, Revenue, dated 19th July 1950.

These servants were ordinarily the karnam (accountant), nirganti (distributor of irrigation water), talaiyari (village watcher), vettiyan (scavenger), doctor, watcher of stray cattle, washerman, barber, carpenter and smith. There was no village headman and the duties of that office were discharged by the village assembly or grama pravartikam. In 1816 a Village Munsif with police and judicial functions was appointed, though it was found difficult to induce any leading ryots to accept that office. The collection of revenues was added to the duties of the Village Munsif in 1836, but it was not until the revision of the village establishment in 1868 that better salaries led to the office being sought after and the duties being performed satisfactorily. A Government karnam was appointed in 1807, but the kudikarnam, or the karnam of the villagers, existed side by side. All the village servants, except the Village Munsif, who was also called the monigar, and the Government karnam, were paid by percentages on the gross produce of the village. These percentages were deducted from the gross produce before it was divided between the ryot and the Government. They were regulated and settled by the first Collector of the district, Charles Harris. They were, however, gradually done away with except those which belonged to the servants available for State services, and the latter were appropriated for the improvement of the Government village establishment which was revised in 1868. The monigar and the karnam had long been paid from the treasury and the talaiyaris had been partly paid by inams. These inams, as has been seen already, were enfranchised at the time of the Inam Settlement. After the revision of 1868, the village establishment consisted of a Village Munsif, a karnam and a vettian for each vattam or group of villages. The vettiyan was no longer a scavenger but a village peon. The establishment was again revised in 1899 when the office of the Government talaiyari was introduced.[1]

So much about land revenue. The history of the other revenues is soon told. We can deal here only with such of them as were formerly or are now under the Madras Government. Taking those that have been throughout under the Madras Government first, excise was until lately, until prohibition was introduced, the most important source of revenue; but to-day, with the introduction of prohibition it has dwindled into a very small sum. In 1945–46, for instance, when prohibition had been suspended by the Adviser Goverment, it amounted to no less than Rs. 15·89 crores in the State and Rs. 89·52 lakhs in Tanjore[2]; but in 1949–50, when the whole State had gone dry, the revenue became insufficient

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 193–194.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, page 208.

[2] Administration Report of the Excise Revenue for 1945–46, page 19.

even to meet the expenditure, there being a deficit of more than 18 lakhs of rupees in the State. [1]

This revenue was in pre-prohibition days derived from the manufacture and sale of arrack and toddy, and from the sale of foreign liquors, opium, ganja and bhang. It is now derived chiefly from foreign liquor. Its history is now merely of antiquarian interest, but none the less it is interesting, and it has to be recounted, inasmuch as it affected the administration of the district for about a century.

The revenue of the districts, including Tanjore, was for the first time regulated by Act III of 1864 as amended by Act V of 1879. The supply of liquor was then regulated by the farming system. The farming system was replaced in 1874 by the "improved excise system" under which the monopoly of supply of arrack and toddy in the district was given to a contractor subject to the condition that he paid duty on every gallon of spirit issued, and guaranteed a minimum revenue to the Government. It was, however, soon found that this system was responsible for a serious growth of illegal practices. As all the shops were in the hands of the manufacturer and as he had to pay duty only on the quantity issued to the vendors, it mattered little to him if the shops sold illicit liquor. Further, the renter failed to maintain the preventive staff required to put down the illicit practices. The Government therefore appointed a committee in 1884 to suggest improvements and upon its recommendation passed Act I of 1886. The "improved excise system" was now in the case of arrack replaced by the free supply system which was one of free competition among the licensed distillers in respect of manufacture and supply. This led to unhealthy competition and finally to the danger of a monopoly. The system was therefore abandoned in 1900 and replaced by the Contract distillery system. Under this system the privileges of manufacture and vend were entirely separated. The manufacturer was given the privilege of supplying a fixed area at a definite rate per gallon, the Government supervising the process and ensuring the purity of liquor. The liquor was issued from a central source of supply and the right of retail sale was disposed of by auction. By this arrangement the prevention of illicit practices was left in the hands of the Government. In the case of toddy, a fee was levied for the right of retailed vend and a tree tax was also levied upon every tree from which toddy was to be drawn. As for foreign liquor, tavern licences were granted for consumption on the premises, the fees being determined by auction. But, wholesale licences and retail licences for consumption off the premises, for refreshment rooms, bars, etc., were granted on payment of fixed

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[1] Administration Report of the Madras Excise and Prohibition Department for 1949–50, page 22.

fees. The sale of opium was administered under India Act I of 1878 and that of ganja under Madras Act I of 1886 and the right of retail vend to the public was generally sold by auction. The arrack was prepared in the district out of molasses, but it was not consumed much. Toddy, on the other hand, was consumed in large quantities. It was drawn chiefly from coconut trees, and also from palmyra and date trees. Very few trees were tapped for sweet juice and very little jaggery was made, although no licence was necessary for tapping sweet juice. The consumption of opium and ganja was not much in the district, being confined mostly to the Muslim population in the Nagapattinam taluk. This was the position till 1947 when prohibition was introduced in the district. We have already shown in the chapter on Welfare Schemes how prohibition was introduced and with what results.[1]

The loss of revenue caused by prohibition has been more than made up by the levy of new taxes called commercial taxes. The credit for devising and introducing these new taxes belongs to the First Congress Ministry presided over by Sri C. Rajagopalachari. In 1939, the Madras General Sales Tax Act (Act IX of 1939), the Madras Entertainments Tax Act (Act X of 1939), the Madras Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act (Act VI of 1939) and the Madras Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Licensing) Act (Act VIII of 1939) were passed. The last of these Acts was repealed in 1944 on account of a levy of Central Excise duty by the Government of India and a lump sum compensation has been given by that Government thereafter to the Madras Government for the loss of the State revenue.[2]

The General Sales Tax came into force on 1st October 1939.[3] It was levied on all businesses, the turnover of which exceeded Rs. 10,000 thereby exempting all small traders dealing in food, clothing, etc. To facilitate its levy and to avoid detailed investigations into the exact turnovers in the case of smaller businesses, the amount of the tax was fixed at Rs. 5 per month, when the turnover was between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000. A tax at half a per cent was levied, when the turnover exceeded Rs. 20,000. Safeguards were provided in the Act to avoid the taxation of both the seller and the buyer in respect of one and the same transaction. Exemptions were made in the case of certain articles like bullion and specie, cotton, cotton yarn, and cloth woven

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[1] Excise and Temperance in Madras by D. N. Strathie, 1922.
Madras Presidency 1881–1931 by G. T. Boag, 1933, pp. 55–58.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 198–199.
Idem, Vol. II, 1933, page 211.

[2] G.O. No. 769, Revenue, dated 28th March 1947.
Madras in 1944, page 3.

[3] G.O. No. 338, Revenue, dated 12th February 1941.

on handlooms and sold by persons exclusively dealing in such cloth. In the case of hides and skins provision was also made to levy the tax at a single point in a series of sales by successive dealers. In the case of certain finished articles of industrial manufacture, a rebate of one-half of the tax levied on sales of such articles for delivery outside the State was allowed. The sale of electrical energy, motor spirit and manufactured tobacco was exempted from the tax[1]. In 1940–41 the rates of tax were reduced to Rs. 4 per month on turnovers between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 and at one-fourth per cent on turnovers exceeding Rs. 20,000[2]. In 1944 the rates of taxation were raised to Rs.8 per mensem on turnovers between Rs.10,000 and Rs. 15,000, at Rs. 12 per mensem on turnovers between Rs. 15,000 and Rs. 20,000 and at one per cent on turnovers exceeding Rs. 20,000[3]. In 1948 the slab rate system of taxation was abolished except in the case of fruit and vegetable dealers and a tax at 3 pies per rupee was levied in all cases in which the turnover was Rs. 10,000 or more. In respect of certain luxury goods an additional tax at the rate of 3 to 6 pies for every rupee was also levied at the stage of sale by the first dealer[4]. In 1949 the slab rate system was made inapplicable to dealers in coconuts, canned, preserved, dried or dehydrated vegetables and fruits. In the same year the tax on food and drink sold in hotels, boarding-houses, and restaurants was raised to 4½ pies in the rupee, when the turnover was Rs. 25,000 or more; and the sale of cotton which had been exempted from tax prior to 1st August 1949 now became liable to a tax at a single point at the rate of half a per cent on the turnover[5]. From 1950, by virtue of Article 286 (1) of the Constitution of India, sales for export outside the territory of India were exempted from tax, while the taxes on other sales, including sales for export to the other States in India continued to be levied under the special permission of the President[6]. The net result of all this brought no less than Rs. 15,79,21,155 to the State in 1949–50, Tanjore contributing Rs. 60,00,617[7].

The Entertainments Tax Act came into force on 1st August 1939.[8] This Act repealed a previous Act of 1926 (Act V of 1927) by which local bodies could levy a tax on entertainments and provided compensation for such bodies. It authorized the levy of a tax on a graduated scale according to the value

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[1] See the Act in the *Fort St. George Gazette.*
[2] G.O. No. 2528, Revenue, dated 5th November 1941.
[3] G.O. No. 769, Revenue, dated 28th March 1947.
[4] G.O. No. 429, Revenue, dated 23rd February 1949.
[5] G.O. No. 2601, Revenue, dated 27th September 1950. Madras in 1949, page 25.
[6] Madras in 1950, page 23.
[7] G.O. No. 2601, Revenue, dated 27th September 1950.
[8] G.O. No. 3075, Revenue, dated 10th December 1940.

of the payment made for admission to any entertainment. When the payment was not more than 2 annas, the tax was levied at 3 pies ; when it was more than 2 annas but less than 6 annas, it was levied at 6 pies. In regard to higher payments, it rose gradually from 1 anna in the case of payments between 6 annas and 12 annas to Rs. 2 in the case of payments between Rs. 9½ and Rs. 10. When the payment was Rs. 10 or more, it was Rs. 2 for the first 10 rupees and Rs. 2 for every 10 rupees or portion thereof in excess of the first 10 rupees. Provision was made in the Act for compounding the tax for a fixed sum as well as payment of a fixed percentage of the gross proceeds, when the proprietors applied for such lump sum payments. Provision was also made for exempting entertainments, the proceeds of which were devoted to philanthropic, religious or charitable purposes ; and entertainments which were of an educational, cultural and scientific character.[1] In 1945 the rates of tax on payments for admission above 2 annas was increased by fifty per cent.[2] In 1948–49 the tax yielded Rs. 1,00,68,138 in the State, Tanjore contributing Rs. 4,99,450.[3]

The Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act came into force on 1st April 1939.[4] It provided for the levy of a tax of 1 anna and 6 pies per gallon on all retail sales of petrol and 6 pies per gallon on the sale of other motor spirit (diesel oil). The tax was payable only once and the dealers were required to register themselves and to maintain proper accounts.[5] In 1947 the rates of tax were raised to 4 annas in the case of petrol and 1½ annas in the case of other motor spirit.[6] This tax in 1948–49 yielded Rs. 60,30,471 in the State, Tanjore contributing Rs. 88,033.[7]

The revenue realized from these new taxes being very considerable, a new Department, called the Commercial Tax Department, was organized to administer them. The General Sales Tax Act was from the very beginning administered by this department.[8] The Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act was administered by the Collectors and the Entertainments Tax Act was administered by the Municipalities in municipal areas and the Commercial Tax Department in non-municipal areas till 1943. In that year the working of these two Acts was also placed entirely under the Commercial Tax Department.[9] The Department is now under a Commissioner of

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[1] See the Act in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.
[2] G.O. No. 20, Revenue, dated 6th January 1947.
[3] G.O. No. 2356, Revenue, dated 7th September 1949.
[4] G.O. No. 265, Revenue, dated 16th March 1943.
[5] G.O. No. 111, Legal, dated 21st March 1939.
[6] G.O. No. 2090, Revenue, dated 6th September 1947.
[7] G.O. No. 1895, Revenue, dated 16th July 1949.
[8] G.O. No. 338, Revenue, dated 12th February 1941.
[9] G.O. No. 20, Revenue, dated 6th January 1947.
G.O. No. 265, Revenue, dated 16th March 1943.

Commercial Taxes who is a Member of the Board of Revenue and there are a number of Commercial Tax Officers, Deputy Commercial Tax Officers and Assistant Commercial Tax Officers under him. There is a Commercial Tax Officer in Tanjore.

The other revenues administered by the State Government are registration fees and stamp revenue. The history of registration has alreay been indicated in the chapter on Law and Order. Revenue from registration fees amounted to Rs. 44,30,971 in the State and Rs. 1,88,558 in the district in 1949–50.[1] Stamp revenue is derived from two main classes of stamps, judicial or court-fee stamps and non-judicial or revenue stamps.[2] The law relating to judicial stamps in India is Act VII of 1870 (the Court Fees Act) as amended by Madras Act V of 1922 and Madras Act XVII of 1945. The Court Fees Act imposes fees on plaints, petitions and other documents filed before civil, criminal and revenue courts. The law relating to non-judicial stamps is contained in India Act II of 1899 (Stamp Act) as amended by the Madras Acts VI of 1922, VI of 1923, XIII of 1924, VI of 1950, XXV of 1950 and XIV of 1951. The Stamp Act imposes duties on commercial transactions recorded in writing, such as conveyances, bonds, cheques, bills of exchange and the like. The administration of the stamp revenue is vested in the Board of Revenue. The management of the stamp revenue in each district is vested in the Collector of the district. In 1949–50 the stamps brought in a revenue of Rs. 6,40,92,675 in the State and Rs. 38,21,406 in the district.[3]

The revenues which were originally administered by the Madras Government and which are now administered by the Government of India are the revenues from Salt, Customs and Income-tax. Of these, the salt revenue has had a long and interesting history. Under the Maharashtra Government no revenue was derived from salt, except the transit duty levied on it in common with other articles of commerce. The ownership of the salt-pans was divided between the managers of certain religious and charitable institutions to whom the proprietary right (the melvaram) had been assigned and certain ryots who possessed an occupancy right (the kudivaram). The latter manufactured the salt and divided the produce with the former. In the case of the great Vedaranyam salt swamp, no occupancy right existed and the managers of the Vedaranyam temple, who were the assignees of the revenue from it, realized the entire profits.[4]

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[1] G.O. No. 2857, Revenue, dated 2nd November 1950.
[2] Madras Presidency, 1881–1931, by G. T. Boag, 1933, page 58.
[3] G.O. No. 2675, Revenue, dated 5th October 1950.
[4] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 195.

This state of affairs was completely altered by the British Government by the establishment of salt monopoly (Regulation I of 1805). By this monopoly the manufacture, sale, transit, export and import of salt, except on account of or with the permission of the Government, having been prohibited, the assignment of proprietary rights to salt-pans was resumed and the occupancy tenants were only permitted to continue the manufacture of salt on condition that they handed over the whole produce to the officers of the Government, on receiving the value of their own shares at certain money rents. This system held the field for a long time, till 1876 when, on the recommendation of a Government of India Commission, it was abolished and replaced by the excise system all over India. In Tanjore the new system came to be introduced only in about 1883. Under it salt was manufactured by the licensees and stored by them under the superintendence of the Government ; but it could be sold by them without restrictions once they had paid the excise duty. The Government, however, found it necessary to control the market by maintaining some Government factories. In these factories (which in 1885 were reduced from 23 to 7) the Government followed the excise, the modified excise as well as the monopoly system. The modified excise system was an intermediary stage between the excise and the monopoly system under which the Government had the power to take over salt from the licensees at a fixed rate of kudivaram whenever they required it for controlling prices. [1]

A change came with the advent of the political agitation over the salt tax and the signing of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931), when concessions were given to persons living in villages to collect and make salt from and in adjoining areas for domestic use and sale in their own villages.[2] A further change came on the eve of Independence when, in 1947, the salt imported or manufactured in India was exempted from the payment of customs as well as excise duties. The excise duty so abolished was now replaced by a special cess of $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per standard maund on issues of salt from factories administered by the Government, and 2 annas per maund on salt issued from licensed factories, in order to cover the establishment charges. [3] The final change came in 1948, when all small scale manufacture of salt below 10 acres in any area was made free from all restrictions of licenses, storage, transport, distribution, etc., so long as it conformed to the prescribed standard of quality [4] and large scale manufacture of salt was

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[1] Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876.
Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 195–196.
Idem, Volume II, pp 210–211.

[2] Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1930–31.

[3] Administration Report of the Salt Commissioner for 1947–1951.

[4] *Idem*.

permitted under licenses, the manufacturers being allowed free scope for expansion by assigning to them all available salt land contiguous to their existing factories on long leases (usually 25 years leases) on payment of a royalty on production. The State lands were to be leased out by the State Government in such cases; but the licenses were to be granted by the Salt Commissioner, an officer of the Government of India. Co-operative Societies were to be given preference over individuals in the matter of assignment of land.[1] This is the present position.

The seven factories in the district are situated at Neidavasal, Tranquebar, Nagapattinam, Vedaranyam, Thambikottai, Adirampatnam and Kattumavadi. The last four of these factories are supplied by direct flow from the sea. The spontaneous salt produced in the Vedaranyam salt swamp (described in Chapter I) is heavier and therefore not of much use for trade.[2] Before the excise duty was removed in 1947, the factories sold 1,532,825 maunds of salt valued at Rs. 6,33,429; and the duty upon it amounted to Rs. 23,95,039. The average retail price of salt at Tanjore in 1946–1947 when salt was subject to excise duty was Rs. 3–0–2 per maund;[3] the removal of the duty brought down the price in 1949–1950 to Rs. 1–9–1[4] per maund. Salt is also now supplied free of cess for industrial purposes like fish-curing, tanning, glass manufacture, pottery making, etc. The quality of salt manufactured in the various factories in the district is not uniform; the sodium chloride contents in salt vary from 96·40 per cent (Adirampatnam factory) to 90·97 per cent (Vedaranyam factory).[5]

There have been serveral changes in the administration of the Salt Department. In 1805 when the salt monopoly was introduced, the Collector of Tanjore began to administer the revenue under an Agent appointed for the State. In 1808 the post of the Agent was abolished and his duties were entrusted to the Board of Revenue.[6] In 1878 a Commissioner of Salt was appointed, assisted by two Deputy Commissioners and several Assistant Commissioners. The duties of the Collector now came to be exercised by an Assistant Commissioner.[7] In 1881–1884, the districts in the State were grouped into seven divisions and each division was placed under an Assistant Commissioner and the factories were placed

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[1] Administration Report of the Salt Commissioner for 1947–1951.
[2] Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1946–1947. Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, pp. 196–197.
[3] Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1946–1947.
[4] *Idem* for 1951–1952.
[5] *Idem* for 1946–1947.
[6] Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876, paragraphs 13 and 15
[7] Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1878–1879.

in charge of Inspectors.[1] In 1884 the Commissioner of Salt Revenue came to exercise supervision over the abkari revenue of the State as well and was empowered to employ the salt revenue staff on abkari duties. The department then came to be called the Department of Salt and Abkari Revenue and the Commissioner was, for abkari purposes, appointed an additional Member of the Board of Revenue.[2] In 1886 he became one of the ordinary Members of the Board, his designation being changed into the Commissioner of Salt, Abkari and Separate Revenue.[3] In 1900 the Customs Department was amalgamated with the Salt and Abkari Department.[4] In 1910 it was, however, separated and placed under a separate officer called the Collector of Customs.[5] In 1924 the Fisheries Department took over the control of the fish-curing yards from the Salt Department.[6] Meanwhile, by the Reforms of 1919, salt having become a central subject, and excise a provincial subject, the control over the Salt Department was, in 1925, transferred from the Madras Government to the Government of India with effect from 1926 and the duties of the Board of Revenue in regard to salt administration were transferred to the Collector of Salt Revenue.[7] In 1932, as a measure of retrenchment, the post of the Collector of Salt Revenue was merged with that of the Collector of Customs only to be revived again in 1936.[8] The post of the Collector of Salt Revenue was subsequently changed into that of the Deputy Controller of Salt and the latter post was amalgamated with that of the Collector of Central Excise. In 1947 the Salt Department in the State was placed under a Deputy Salt Commissioner and under him were placed two Assistant Commissioners, one with headquarters at Tuticorin and the other with headquarters at Kakinada.[9] The Assistant Commissioner of Tuticorin has now under him three Superintendents, one of whom, having headquarters at Cuddalore, has jurisdiction over the Tanjore factories. Each of these factories is under the charge of a Deputy Superintendent or an Inspector.

In olden days land customs were levied in the district on the transport of all sorts of merchandise. There were numerous chowkis or custom houses both in the pre-British and in the early British period. In the early British period the right to collect the duties was leased out in the district to a few farmers of revenue and they in turn sub-let them to

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[1] Administration Report of the Salt Department for 1880–1881.
[2] *Idem* for 1884–1885 and 1885–1886.
[3] *Idem* for 1887–1888.
[4] *Idem* for 1 00–1901.
[5] *Idem* for 1909–1910.
[6] *Idem* for 1923–1924.
[7] *Idem* for 1924–1925 and for 1925–1926.
[8] *Idem* for 1931–1932 and for 1936–1937.
[9] Report of the Salt Commissioner for 1947 to 1951.

numerous under-farmers. As the collection of the duties hampered trade and led to a great deal of corruption and oppression, they were abolished throughout the State in 1844. Thereafter the inland duties in the district were collected only on trade by land with the French Settlement of Karaikal and these were regulated by the tariff in force for sea-borne trade with foreign ports and collected at chowkis on the roads leading to Karaikal and at Peralam and Karaikal railway stations.[1] From 1919, customs having become a central subject, they came to be collected by the Government of India. After the merger of the French territories with the Indian territories in 1954, they have ceased to be collected. As to sea customs, they have been collected from the early days of the British rule down to our own times under the laws and regulations passed from time to time. The tariffs have changed very often with the change in policy followed by the Government. Formerly, the sea customs were, like the land customs, administered by the Madras Government ; but since the 1919 Reforms they have come to be administered by the Government of India. There are now 8 ports in the district of which the most important is Nagapattinam. We have already described the volume of trade of this port, its imports and exports, in the chapter on Industries and Trade. The revenue realised in the district under the sea customs came to Rs. 41,30,593 in 1950–51, out of which the sea customs duty collected at Nagapattinam port alone was Rs. 41,25,423. The land customs duty collected at the Karaikal frontiers in the same year amounted to Rs. 1,09,150.

Income-tax was first imposed in India in 1860 in order to meet the financial dislocation caused by the Mutiny. It was levied at the rate of 4 per cent on all incomes of Rs. 500 and upwards. Many changes have been made in the system from time to time. According to the present schedule the first Rs. 4,200 are exempted. In the case of incomes exceeding this amount the tax is levied as follows. On the first Rs. 1,500, nil ; on the next Rs. 3,500, at 9 pies in the rupee ; on the next Rs. 5,000 at 1 anna and 9 pies in the rupee ; on the next Rs. 5,000 at 3 annas in the rupee ; and on the balance at 4 annas in the rupee ; a surcharge of 1/[illegible] of the basic tax is also levied. On high incomes, i.e. over Rs. 25,000, a super tax ranging from 3 annas to 8½ annas in the rupee with a surcharge of 1/[illegible] of the super tax is levied. Originally, the administration of the Department was vested in the State Government and was carried on by the Board of Revenue and the Collectors of the Districts, assisted first by the ordinary revenue staff and later by Special Deputy Collectors, Tahsildars, Assistant Tahsildars and Inspectors.[2] In 1922 a Chief

[1] Gazetteer of the Tanjore District, Vol. I, 1915, page 200.
[2] G.O. No. 275-76, Finance (Separate Revenue), dated 18th Nov. 1921.

Commissioner who was a Member of the Board of Revenue, four Assistant Commissioners and many Assessors and Investigating Officers called Surveyors came to be appointed. Tanjore was then placed under the Assistant Commissioner, Western Range. Subsequently, as a result of the 1919 Reforms, the administration of the department was taken over by the Government of India and their own officers. The district is now divided into two Income-Tax Circles, the Tanjore Circle and the Nagapattinam Circle. The Tanjore Circle comprises the revenue taluks of Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Arantangi, Pattukkottai, Papanasam, Mayuram, Sirkali and Tiruthuraipundi; the Nagapattinam Circle comprises the revenue taluks of Nagapattinam, Mannargudi and Nannilam. Each circle is in charge of an Income-tax Officer. The number of assessees in the district in 1953–1954 was 2,842 and the amount of demand was Rs. 31,01,000. There are no big industries in the district, agriculture, as we have already seen, being its chief occupation. The trades, industries and other sources which contribute the tax in the Tanjore Circle are rice and paddy trade, manufacture and purchase and sale of silk cloth and sarees, motor transport business, brassware manufacture, coffee hotels, provisions and oilman stores and foreign income from Ceylon, Malaya and Indo-China. The important trades are rice and paddy trades and these are mainly confined to Tanjore, Sirkali, Mayuram, and Tiruthuraipundi. The main businesses which contribute tax in the Nagapattinam Circle are those of paddy and rice; others are those of imported coconuts, chewing tobacco, cloth, groceries, hardware, oilmanstores, coffee hotels, shroffs trade, soaps, biscuits and statio nery.[1]

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[1] Administration Reports of the Income-tax Officers, Tanjore and Nagapattinam, for 1953–1954.

CHAPTER XVII.

Gazetteer.

ARANTANGI TALUK.

Arantangi is the southernmost taluk of the district and borders on the Palk Straits. It was formed out of the south-eastern portion of the old Pattukkottai taluk in November 1910. Twenty-four villages of the Ramanathapuram district were added to it in 1929. Its total area is 398 square miles and its population is 141,387. Its main rivers are torrential in character; they are the Pambar and the Vellar formed by the surplus flow of tanks in the Tiruchirappalli district and the Narasinga Cauvery formed by the surplus of the Vellar river. During rains the waters in these rivers are diverted into tanks which formerly used to be the main source of irrigation. After the construction of the Mettur Dam, a third of the area of the taluk has been brought under cultivation by the Grand Anicut Canal and its extension channel. A large portion of the taluk consisted of zamindaris and inams until recently when they were abolished by the Zamindari Abolition Act. The old pilgrim route to Rameswaram along the coast runs through this taluk. The following are the important places of historical or antiquarian interest in the taluk :—

Arantangi :—This is the headquarters of the taluk and is a panchayat with a population of 8,219. It is connected by railway to Pattukkottai and by roads to all important places in the taluk. It contains a temple dedicated to Rajendra Choleswara supposed to have been built in the eleventh century. There is also a ruined fort supposed to have been built by the Thondaman chieftains of Arantangi who ruled in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. These chieftains do not seem to have had any connection with the Thondaman Rajas of Pudukkottai. They seem to have descended from the Perumal Chiefs of Tirunelveli as their first chieftain was known as Tirunelveli Perumal Thondamanar. There is reason to think that they accepted the overlordship of the Vijayanagar Kings. Their most famous chieftain was Ponnambalanatha Thondaman who reigned from 1514 to 1569. His son was Audiappa Achutha Nayaka Thondaman; apparently the middle name indicates subordination to Vijayanagar. The principality was absorbed by the Sethupathis of Ramanathapuram in the seventeenth century.

Avadaiyar Kovil :—(Population 2,5)9). This place is famous for its temple which is associated with the Tamil Saint Manickavachagar, the author of Thiruvachagam. Its name is supposed to be a corrupt form of Al-Udaiyar-Kovil, Al Udaiyar (servant devotee), referring to Saint Manickavachagar, who

had been taken as the Al (servant) and taught divine wisdom by God Athmanatha of this place. The inscriptions refer to the place as Tiruperunthurai, the name by which it is described in the works of the saint. According to the legend the temple was built out of the funds entrusted to him for purchasing horses by the Pandyan King Arimardana, while he was serving him as his minister. The king punished the minister for his misuse of the money, but the latter was saved through a series of miracles and became ultimately a religious teacher. The temple is a fine structure with several halls supported by sculptured pillars. Additions and alterations seem to have been made to the structure from time to time with the result that most of the inscriptions on the walls have now disappeared. The inscriptions which remain belong to the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The priests of the temple are called Nambiyars. Only Thiruchinnam and Conch are permitted inside the innermost prakaram of the temple, but melam (Nagaswaram) is being played in other prakarams of the temple. There are no images to the principal deities Siva and Parvathi, but the worship is done to their pedestals. This form of worship is stated to be in accordance with the saint's preaching of absolute monism. Honours are, however, paid to an image of the saint installed within the temple. This image is carried in procession during festivals, the chief of which occur in June-July and December-January. The temple has been richly endowed by the ancient rulers of Madurai, Tanjore, Ramanathapuram, Pudukkottai and Sivaganga. Its management vests in the Thiruvaduthurai mutt, one of the Thambirans of the Mutt being in immediate charge.

Manamelkudi:—(Population 5,652). This is an important village on the coast situated on the old pilgrim route to Rameswaram, now abandoned by the pilgrims who make their journey generally by train.

Among the other places of interest in the taluk may be mentioned Peramandur two miles from Avadaiyar Kovil on the bank of the river Vellar containing a temple of Adikesava Perumal endowed by the Thondaman chiefs, Ponpetti supposed to be the birth place of Buddhamitra, the author of Virasoliyam composed in honour of Vira Rajendra I (1063—1070) and the seat of a temple of Ranganatha endowed by Kempanna Udayar II (1372), and Tirupunnavasal which contains an old temple of Siva worshipped as Vridhapuriswara endowed with lands in the fourteenth century.

KUMBAKONAM TALUK.

Kumbakonam taluk lies on the northern border of the district and occupies an area of 212 square miles. Being

situated in the most fertile part of the Cauvery delta and enjoying the benefits of an excellent system of irrigation canals, it is perhaps the most prosperous taluk in the whole district. Its population is naturally dense amounting to 348,104. Its chief agricultural products are rice, plantains and betel leaves all of which are largely exported. Its chief industries are brass and bell-metal work and textile manufacture. Tanning and sugarcane manufacture on a small scale are also carried on here. The taluk contains numerous temples many of which are richly endowed. It is well supplied with roads and the main line of the Southern Railway from Madras to Rameswaram traverses it from east to west. The following are the places of historical or antiquarian importance :—

Aduthurai :—Population 7,373) eight miles north-east of Kumbakonam. Its old name is Thirukuranguturai, that is, the site where, according to the legend, the monkey king Vali was shot by Rama and obtained his grace. There is a temple dedicated to Apatsahayeswara built and endowed according to the inscriptions by Sembiyan Madeviyar, the queen mother of Uthama Chōḷa (970—986). Endowments were also made by other Chōḷa Kings and a Pandyan King Maran Sadayan who is perhaps Jatilavarman (Circa 770).

Alagadripudur:—Known as Tirupputtur in olden days, contains an old temple dedicated to Swarnapureswara. The inscriptions show that its central shrine and vimana were built in the time of Rajaraja I and that the Brahmin quarter of the village was known as Paradayakudi. They also show that a shrine to the Sun god was built inside the temple and that the village assembly used to meet in a matham (not existing now) on the north bank of the village tank.

Anakkudi Tirunageswaram :—(Population 7,373) three miles east of Kumbak.nam. The village is named after the temple of Nageswara built by Gandaraditya, son of Paranthaka I and husband of the famous queen Sembiyan Madeviyar. The existence of Jain images round the shrine of the goddess would show that the temple was originally built by the Jains. Inscriptions show that, when the irrigation channel of the village was damaged in the floods of the Cauvery in 1052, it was repaired by the village assembly with 100 kasus offered by a Vikramasingh Pallavarayar of Marudam and that the worship of the temple was carried on with the help of an annual grain tax on the ryots. The village is also noted for its Vishnu temple called the Uppiliappan Kovil. The deity in this is supposed to be the brother of the god of Tirupathi and poor persons who cannot afford to go to Tirupathi pay their vows here. A curious practice followed in the temple is that no salt is added to the food offered to the

deity and no food mixed with salt is eaten within the temple precincts.

Darasuram:—(Population 3,778). Situated very close to Kumbakonam, contains ancient temples of great architectural merits. One of these temples is dedicated to Someswara. The other is dedicated to Airavateswara. It contains a gallery of 108 sections, each section containing the image of a Saiva Saint with his name above it. Their pious deeds are sculptured in the Central Hall. The temple is supposed to have been built by Rajaraja II and the name Darasuram is said to be a corruption of Rajarajeswaram. The Dwarapalaka images in the temple were brought by Rajadhiraja Chola, son of Rajaraja I, from Kalyan after defeating the Chalukyas.

Kumbakonam:—(Population 91,643), is a municipality and is the headquarters of the Tahsildar and a Revenue Divisional Officer. The town was known as Tirukkudamukku in ancient times and it is still called as Tirukkudandai by orthodox Vaishnavites. It contains a number of large and ancient temples, three churches, four large chatrams and a famous matham of Sri Sankaracharya. Of the temples, the Vaishnavaite Sarangapani temple is perhaps the most striking. Its gopuram is an imposing structure consisting of twelve storeys and is 147 feet high. It is supposed to have been built, like most other Vaishnavite temples in the district, by the Nayaka Rajas. It would however appear that there was an original temple at this place even from the Pallava times. The Ramaswami temple is known for its Navaratri festival and for the frescoes representing events in the Ramayana which are painted on its walls. Of the Siva temples, the Kumbheswara temple is the most sacred. It has a fine gopuram 128 feet in height. The Nageswara temple is so built that the sun shines through the openings in the gopuram three days in the year right on to the idol which is interpreted as an act of adoration of the god. Kumbakonam is well known among the Hindus as the place which contains the sacred Mahamakham tank. This tank, a fine revetted reservoir surrounded by picturesque mandapams, is the centre of the very important Mahamakham festival in honour of Kumbheswaraswami. The festival takes place once in twelve years when Jupiter stays in Leo and the Sun in Aquarius and people flock to it from every part of Southern India and from even greater distances. Bathing in the tank at this time is considered to be meritorious, as the water of the Ganges is supposed to enter the tank.

Kumbakonam has, from a long time, been the headquarters of the Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam, the famous religious institution founded by the well-known teacher of Advaita, Sri Sankaracharya. The matham was originally established

at Kancheepuram where Sri Sankaracharya is stated to have spent his last days; but owing to the disturbances in the country it was, on the invitation of Raja Pratap Singh, transferred to Tanjore in 1731 and later on to the banks of the Cauvery at Kumbakonam. The great temple at Kancheepuram known as the Kamakshi Amman Devasthanam is, however, still being managed by the matham. There are several copper plate grants in the matham issued by ancient rulers. All of them relate to the grant of tax-free lands to the matham. The earliest of them is dated 1291.

Nachiyarkovil :—(Population 4,201), lies six miles to the south-east of Kumbakonam. The place has been named after its Vishnu temple, the chief feature of which is a garuda-vahanam made of stone. Tirunarayur a, village nearby has been made famous by the singers of the Thevaram songs and by the Vaishnavite Tirumangai Alwar. It was the birth place of Nambi Andar Nambi, the compiler of the Thevaram hymns and a contemporary of Rajaraja I.

Pandanallur :—(Population 2,291), is situated in the north-east corner of the taluk and possesses a Siva temple standing on the site of an old fort, believed to have been built by the Nayakas, the walls of which have disappeared though the moat is partly visible.

Pattiswaram :—(Population 3,147), 3½ miles south-west of Kumbakonam is associated with Govinda Dikshitar, the famous minister of Achutappa Nayaka and his successor. His life-size statue is found in the temple at this place. Govinda Dikshitar rose by his ability from humble beginnings to the position of minister. He built several mantapams and bathing-ghats at Kumbakonam, wrote a book on music of rare merit and founded the Raja's Sanskrit College at Kumbakonam. A full account of him is given in the chapter on history.

Solamaligai :—(Population 2,319), half a mile from Pattiswaram, is said to have been the site of the old Chōla Palace of Palaiyaru from which according to inscriptions the Chola Kings issued royal orders.

Suriyankovil :—(Population 1,071), is nine miles to the east of Kumbakonam and contains the only temple to the Sun god and his two consorts in South India. This temple is supposed to have been built by Kulothunga I.

Swamimalai :—(Population 4,615), is pleasantly situated on the bank of the Cauvery four miles west of Kumbakonam. It is famous for a beautiful little temple of Subrahmanya known throughout the Tamil country as the place where he

instructed his father Siva in religion. The temple is a great place of pilgrimage for the performance of vows, even for people from other districts.

Tirubuvanam :—(Population 1,414), lying on the road from Kumbakonam to Tiruvidamarudur is believed to have been named after Kulothunga Chōḷa III who called himself a Tribhuvana Chakravarti. Two inscriptions of the 14th century found in the Sri Ranganatha temple show that the inhabitants escaped from the depredations of the Kavalkars by giving them a piece of cloth at the time of every first marriage among them. The Siva temple dedicated to Kampahareswara has a tower modelled on the gopuram of the great Tanjore temple and contains some inscriptions relating to Chōḷa times.

Tiruppanandal :—(Population 5,051), situated eleven miles east-north-east of Kumbakonam, is well known for its richly endowed Saivite matham. The matham was founded by one Tillainayaka Thambiran who was a disciple of the central matham of Dharmapuram and head of a similar institution started at Banaras in 1580 by another disciple. He established it as a kind of agency to his own monastery for the collection of subscriptions, but the head of the Dharmapuram matham declared that he was only an agent of the latter institution and claimed to appoint his successors. The dispute went before the courts which ruled that the Tiruppanandal matham was practically independent, that the head of it might appoint his own successor so long as he selected a disciple of the Dharmapuram matham, but that he must see 'that the character of the Tiruppanandal matham as a disciple matham or centre of control is maintained in its integrity according to ancient and recognized usage.' The Banaras matham is supported by subscriptions from the Tiruppanandal matham and is administered by agents appointed by and responsible to the head of the latter. The Tiruppanandal matham has a large income from lands situated in Tanjore and other districts and in Travancore. Its head appoints the managers of five temples in Kumbakonam taluk and another at Banaras.

Besides the matham there is a temple dedicated to Tirutatakeswara which contains a number of inscriptions dating from the reign of Parantaka I to the Vijayanagar times. One of these inscriptions shows that the village was the scene of a battle between the Chōlas and the Pandyas. Another shows how the funds of the temple were being embezzled by the priests and how Kulothunga I punished one of them by the forfeiture of his property. Yet another shows that a grant of land was made to the deity in the temple and to Kungiliyakalaya Nayanar and other Siva devotees of whom the former

is believed to have turned the face of the god back to its normal position after the god had turned it aside 'to save Tataka's shame'.

Tiruppirambiyam :—(Population 3,290) five miles north-west of Kumbakonam, was the scene of a battle in the ninth century fought between the Ganga King Prithvipati I and the Pandya King Varaguna in which the former lost his life. It also contains a Siva temple mentioned in the Thevaram hymns.

Tiruvalanjuli :—(Population 5,804), is situated six miles west of Kumbakonam and is noted for its fine temple, a handsome structure with some delicately chiselled stonework. Legend says that the Cauvery began to flow into a deep chasm which suddenly appeared near this village and that the river was made to flow back in its wonted channel only after a holy man named Varaganda Muni had jumped into the chasm and stopped it with his body. The temple has been sung about by the Thevaram hymners and was endowed by several ancient rulers as is evident from the inscriptions.

Tiruvidaimarudur :—(Population 14,240) six miles north-east of Kumbakonam, also called Madhyarjunam, is noted for its Siva temple which is large, ancient, well-sculptured and particularly sacred. It has a fine silver palanquin and a very large wooden car and its jewels are said to be finer than those of any other temple in the district. The lingam in the temple is one of the biggest in South India being next in point of size only to those in the big temples at Tanjore and Gangaikondacholapuram. A festival is held at the time of Pushyam in January every year and this is attended by a very large number of Harijans who come mostly for drawing the temple car. Among the sculptures in the temple there is a figure at the eastern gate called Chōḷa Brahmahatti. Legend says that this represents a Brahmin who was murdered by a Chōḷa King and who waited at the temple gate as an avenger. The King who was inside the temple escaped on the advice of Siva through another gate leaving the Brahmahatti waiting for ever at the other gate. There are several interesting inscriptions in the temple, but none of them shows how the management of the temple passed into the hands of the Tiruvaduthurai matham. The town is the residence of the descendants of Raja Amar Singh who was deposed by the British in 1798.

Tiruvisalur :—(Population 2,[illegible]), formerly known as Vembarrur, lies on the north bank of the Cauvery and contains an ancient temple built by the Chōḷa Kings. There are numerous inscriptions mostly relating to the endowments made to the temple by Sembiyan Madeviar, Rajaraja I and others.

Vinayagateru :—(Population 1,982), is interesting as a place situated on an island in the Coleroon. It is connected to the bank by the bridge over the lower anicut which crosses the river nearby. The island was completely flooded in 1924 and the inhabitants were in great distress.

There are also other important temples in this taluk at Tiruvoipadi, Tirusenganur, Karikudi, Sakkottai and Sivapuram which are mentioned in the songs of Sambandar, Appar and Sundaramurthi Swamigal.

MANNARGUDI TALUK.

This taluk lying in the centre of the district has an area of 301 square miles and a population of 248,830. It has benefited by the construction of the Mettur reservoir and the Vadavar extension canal system. The northern part of the taluk is traversed by the Nagapattinam-Tanjore railway line and a branch from it runs from Nidamangalam to Mannargudi. The places of historical or antiquarian interest are dealt with below :—

Kalappal :—(Population 1,567) ten miles south-east of Mannargudi, hamlet of Kurichimoolai, contains three old temples dedicated to Alagianathaswami, Kailasanathaswami and Anaikatha Perumal. The inscriptions in them relate to Chōḷa and Pandya times.

Kottur :—(Population 2,167) south-east of Mannargudi, a village of some antiquity with temples containing inscriptions of the Chōḷa, Nayak and the Mahratta periods. One of the inscriptions is useful in fixing the date of Sekkilar, the author of the famous Periya puranam. This inscription which is dated 1180 records a grant by Sekkilar's brother Pallavarayan. In the Siva temple of this place there is a shrine of Tirugnana Peria Pillaiyar erected during the time of Rajaraja III.

Kovilvenni :—(Population 2,237), a village about a mile from the Kovilvenni railway station, contains a Siva temple mentioned in the Thevaram.

Mahadevapattinam :—(Population 2,447), lying six miles south-west of Mannargudi, contains a ruined fort supposed to have been built by Tulsaji Raja. The walls which are thick still bear marks of cannon balls. The fort was held by Hyder Ali during his occupation of the country and was captured from him after a stubborn fight by the English under Col. Braithwaite in 1781. There is an important Siva temple in the village.

Mannargudi :—(Population 29,860), is a municipality and is the headquarters of the Tahsildar and a Revenue Divisional

Officer. It is an ancient town possessing three temples built by Chōḷa Kings. The inscriptions in them relate to the Chōḷa, Pandya and Hoysala Kings. There is a tradition that the Hoysalas had a palace here and that Melavasal, a short distance to the west of the town, is said to be called after its western gate. No traces of the palace are, however, now visible. One of the halls in the Rajagopalaswami temple is called Vallalaraya mantapam and was perhaps built by one of the Vallala or Hoysala Kings.

Of the temples, the Jayankondanatha and the Rajadhirajeswara shrines were founded by Rajadhiraja and the large Vaishnavite Rajagopala Perumal temple was founded by Kulottunga I. Jayankondanatha temple is believed to have the property of preventing milk boiled in it from going bad and there was at one time a great demand for it even from places as distant as Banaras. The Rajagopala temple is a large and imposing building with a fine gopuram and colonnade. The greater part of the temple was built by Raghunatha Nayaka. There are two festivals which are largely attended by people coming even from the Telugu districts. The first of these, a car festival, is held in March-April to commemorate the early childhood of Sri Krishna and is called the Vennaithazhi (the butter pot). At this festival, pilgrims throw balls of butter at the idol as it is carried in procession. The car which is the second largest in the district is drawn by the Harijans of the locality, who have this special privilege. The other festival is held in Adi (July-August) in honour of Chengammal, the goddess and consort of Gopalan. Apart from the festivals, the temple attracts many pilgrims who visit it chiefly with the object of obtaining children. There is a legend that it was built to commemorate the vision of the god to a rishi who was doing penance on the bank of the tank called Gopralayam (Gopalarayan). To bathe in this tank on Sundays in Karthikai (November-December) is said to be meritorious. Another sacred bathing place is the large Haridranadi tank, a fine sheet of water 24 acres in extent and revetted all round. The name is derived from the saffron used by the handmaidens of Krishna for whose use he is said to have made the tank by damming up a stream. A third sacred tank is the Tiruppakkadal tank in which a bath on Fridays in the month of Tai (January-February) is believed to confer special merit. A revenue official of the last century named Alagiasinga Naidu is stated to have made a canal from the Vadavar tank for supplying water to all these tanks in the town. There is also in this place the Srichokkanatha-Meenakshi Ammal temple which is richly endowed. The place is likewise in a small way important as a Jain centre having a population of 80 Jains and a temple of Sri Mallinatha, a theerthankara, visited by a fair number of Jain pilgrims.

Nidamangalam :—(Population 4,621), is eight miles north-west of Mannargudi. It is an important paddy exporting centre. There are two temples here dedicated to Siva and Vishnu and endowed with 900 acres of land. There is also a chatram built by Raja Pratap Singh in 1761 in honour of his queen Yamunabai after whom it is named.

Perūvalandan :—(Population 3,224), thirteen miles south of Mannargudi, is known for its private chatram founded by a rich ryot and endowed with 420 acres of land. A Veda school is attached to it. The goddess Annapoorni Amman whose image is in the attitude of a woman serving meals is here worshipped. The chatram distributes free Kadi kanji which is considered to cure fever and cattle disease.

Tirukkallar :—(Population 1,415) south-east of Mannargudi, is famous in Saivite tradition as the place where Kalamuni and Durvasa worshipped Siva in the form of Parijatavaneswarar. The temple contains several inscriptions relating to endowments made by the Chōḷa, Pandya and Vijayanagar Kings. Five copper plates of the Chōḷa period from this temple are kept in the Madras Museum.

Tirumakkottai :—(Population 2,217), nine miles south of Mannargudi, has a large and well endowed Siva temple (Gnanapureswara) said to have been built by a certain king Kritasekharan who had been cured of leprosy there.

Tiruvarameswaram, four miles east of Mannargudi, is a place of much antiquity and was known as Nedumanal or Madanamanjari—Chathur—Vedimangalam. There are a number of inscriptions chiefly of Rajaraja I and Rajendra Chōḷa in the temple dedicated to Ramanatheswara.

Vaduvur :—(Population 1,383), ten miles on the road from Mannargudi to Tanjore, is a large Vaishnavite centre and contains a large temple dedicated to Kothandaramaswami. A festival is held here in Masi (February-March) in honour of the birth of Sri Rama.

MAYURAM TALUK.

Mayuram taluk touches the coast in the north-east. It has an area of 282 square miles and a population of 321,493. It possesses great agricultural advantages being situated wholly in the delta of the Cauvery. Lying near the sea, it receives a rainfall of 50 to 53 inches of rain. Weaving is carried on extensively in this taluk in a large number of villages. The taluk is traversed by three railway lines, one from Madras to Tanjore, another from Mayuram to Arantangi and the

third from Mayuram to Tranquebar. The places of historical or antiquarian interest are the following :—

Anathandavapuram:—(Population 2,200), five miles north-east of Mayuram, is noted for its money-lenders and is one of the eighteen villages in which there are settlements of Vathima Brahmins. Gopalakrishna Bharathi, the author of the famous Nandanar Charitra Kirtanam, wrote his work, while he was living in this village.

Dharmapuram :—is a hamlet of Mannampandal and lies two miles east of Mayuram. It is well known for its Saivite matham * which was founded by a holy man called Gnana Sambanda Desikar more than 300 years ago. His holiness is said to have first been manifested by his having been miraculously kept dry while standing outside the house of his guru on a wet night. The matham has a large endowment of land in the Tanjore and the Tirunelveli districts. The head of the matham, called the Pandarasannadhi, supervises the managers of 27 temples in this and other districts and generally controls their endowments and appoints their priests. One of the disciples or Thambirans of the mathams has to be appointed to the headship of the Tiruvaduturai matham when that office falls vacant. There are always a few disciples who are Vellalars and who have abandoned the world, besides a number of secular servants. There is a large collection of old palm leaf manuscripts in Tamil and Sanskrit in the matham.

Konerirajapuram :—(Population 3,175), twelve miles south-west of Mayuram, is noted for its Vathima Brahmin money-lenders. It contains an ancient temple built by the famous Chola queen, Sembiyan Madeviyar, in memory of her husband Gandaraditya who died here. There is a figure of the king cut into the wall in the act of worshipping the God.

Korukkai :—(Population 1,398), lies five miles north-east of Mayuram. The village is mostly occupied by the sub-community of Brahmins called Kesikas. These are less literate than the others and follow avocations which are despised by the rest. The Siva temple is held sacred, because God Siva is said to have opened his third eye here and burnt Manmatha to ashes. A festival is held on Manmatha's day in Masi (February-March) and a strip of land covered with ashes is shown as the place where he was burnt. The temple has a large income and its manager is appointed by the head of the Dharmapuram matham.

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* The institution is more correctly called an *Adhinam* or central institution from which the Chief ascetic exercises control over subordinate mathams. The Dharmapuram adhinam is the religious superior of the mathams at Tiruppanandal and Banaras.

Kuttalam:—(Population 7,706), five miles west by south of Mayuram, contains a Siva temple of antiquity. The village is named Thiruthuruthi in the Thevarams and it was visited by the Tamil Saints Gnanasambandar and Sundarar. In some inscriptions, the God of the temple is referred to as Uktavediswarar and in others the temple is described as the stone temple because it was rebuilt in stone. A bath in the temple tank is said to have cured Sundarar of some illness and one of his hymns sings the praises of the God apparently in gratitude for his intervention. Sembiyan Madeviyar built the temple in stone and endowed it with lands. There is also another temple dedicated to Omkareswara built and endowed by Jayadeva Pallavarayar in 1203 when Kulothunga Chola III was King. Krishnadeva Raya, the Vijayanagar King, remitted certain taxes in its favour on the occasion of a Mahamakham festival.

Mayuram :—(Population 43,436), is the headquarters of the Tahsildar and a Revenue Divisional Officer. Mayuram means a pea-fowl and legend says that Siva turned his consort, Parvati, into a pea-hen because she would not obey him, and changed her back again only when she worshipped and bathed in the Mayilamman tank here. The town is a famous place of pilgrimage as many people (especially widows) congregate at the annual Tula festival at which the river Ganges is supposed to come and mingle her waters with those of the Cauvery. The Ganges is supposed to purify herself once a year by bathing in the Cauvery at this place. The festival lasts throughout the month of Tula or Arpisi (October-November). The temple has a fine brick gopuram with a very lofty gateway. It has a large income and its manager is appointed by the head of the Tiruvaduturai matham. There is a second Siva temple dedicated to Panchanatheswara. Inscriptions of the Chola times have been discovered on the walls of both the temples. There is likewise a celebrated Vishnu temple at Tiruvilandur, a subrub of Mayuram, at which a festival takes place at the same time as the Tula festival in Mayuram. The pilgrims who attend the one pay a visit to the other also.

Pallavarayanpettai :—A hamlet about four miles from Mayuram, is believed to have derived its name from Pallavarayan, the Chōḷa General of Rajaraja II, who defeated the Ceylonese General Lankapura Dandanayaka who had invaded the Pandya Kingdom and driven out the Pandya King Kulasekhara. Pallavarayan enjoyed the full confidence of the King and upon the death of the latter, protected his chidlren until they came of age. There is an inscription celebrating his achievements as a trusted minister of the king.

Parasalur :—(Population 2,750), five miles east of Mayuram. The Siva temple here is well known. It is

mentioned in the Skanda Purana as the place where the father-in-law of Siva performed a sacrifice.

Talainayar :—(Population 2,566). One of the inscriptions of the Chola period discovered in the Kurramporutiswara temple is interesting, as it contains the rules for the election to the village assembly. They say: " Only those Brahmins who were not in the assembly during the previous ten years and those who were equal, learned and above 40 years of age could stand for election. Even among these only those who were not relations of the members of the assembly during the previous five years should be chosen." People were protected from undue influence that might be exercised by these members by the rule that "those who molested the Brahmins of the town, who were not members of the assembly and did not pay their taxes, the Brahmin sadhus and the agriculturists and such of those as took bribes were punishable according to the gravity of the offence."

Thirukkadaiyur :—(Population 3,238), four miles north-west of Tranquebar. The Kalakala Deva temple here is reputed to be the place where Siva killed Yama and saved Markandeya. The story is depicted at the annual festival. The temple has a large income and is under the control of a manager appointed by the Dharmapuram matham. One of the inscriptions in it shows that the brother of Sekkilar of Kunrattur, the author of Periyapuranam, endowed some lands to the Amirutaghateswara temple.

Tirumananjeri:—(Population 1,626). One of the inscriptions in the temple of Udvahanatheswara celebrated in the Thevarams by the Tamil Saints Gnanasambandar and Appar says that Sembiyan Madeviyar endowed the temple with lands and money. Another inscription shows that a monastery named Alalasundar matham was built in the reign of Rajaraja I for the use of Pugalivendar of Pundi. This matham is no longer in existence, but a site called Madathukollai perhaps shows where it existed.

Tirumangalam:—(Population 1,751), contains an interesting inscription in the Bhulokanathaswami temple of a resurvey and resettlement of the village in the reign of Kulothunga Chola III. The details of the royal order, the temples affected by it, the streets for taking the idols in procession and the halting places are shown in the inscription.

Tiruvaduturai :—(Population 4,930), lies ten miles west-south-west of Mayuram. There is here an old Siva temple which is mentioned in the Puranas and is considered sacred, but the place is chiefly known for its Saivite matham. This was founded by one Namasivaya Murti at an unknown period

and is an 'adhinam' with other institutions subordinate to it. It has an extensive landed property of 30,000 acres lying in the districts of Tirunelveli, Madurai, Tanjore and others. The head of the matham appoints the managers and priests of some fifteen temples in this and other districts and controls their funds. Some of these temples are of great importance. Their managers are appointed from among the disciples of the institution of whom there is always a large number. The head of the matham is also the guru of a number of private persons in the district who visit him and give him presents on the anniversary day of the founder of the matham. There is a large collection of palm leaf manuscripts in the matham.

Tranquebar:—(Tamil Tarangambadi, the 'wave village'), is a town of 15,016 inhabitants situated on the coast nineteen miles east-south-east of Mayuram. It was a very early Danish settlement and was once an important seaport and the headquarters of the Collector. Tranquebar proper is enclosed by a brick wall, the remains of a fortification. The main road enters through an imposing gateway bearing the date 1792 and the monogram of the King of Denmark. The houses are mostly bungalows without compounds, and the streets (known by such names as King's Street and Queen's Street) are suggestive of a European town. The inhabitants are mostly Christians.

The Danish fort at Tranquebar (the 'Dansborg') was founded in 1620 by one Ove Gedde on behalf of the newly established Danish East India Company. In a former venture in 1618 the Company's vessel had been wrecked off the Coromandel coast, and the Captain, Roelant Crape (who had spent some time in his youth at Tanjore), had made his way to the court, where the Nayaka took him under his protection. He obtained from the king a grant of a strip of country five miles long and three miles broad at an annual rent of Rs. 3,111. On this land the Danish settlement of Tranquebar was built by the co-operation of Crape and Gedde. Four years later (1624) the fort became the property of the King of Denmark, to whom the Company owed money, and remained in his possession till 1845 when it was ceded to the English East India Company.

Little is known about the early relations of the Danes with the people of the country. It seems likely that the Danes assisted the Nayakas in decorating the great temple and in other public works. By 1755 a very large portion of the Danish territory had been washed away by the sea, which has continually preyed on the land at this point, and the king of Tanjore was accordingly asked to grant an extension of territory to the settlement. This he refused to do, and the matter ended

(in 1756) in a serious affray. The Danes complained of outrages by the king's officers, and on this pretext attacked two temples in the neighbourhood. One they took, but, while moving against the other, they were themselves attacked by a force from Tanjore and had to retreat into the fort with the loss of 40 killed and 100 wounded. Peace was ultimately restored by the mediation of the Madras Government. In the wars between the English and the French which occurred about this time, Tranquebar seems to have been used as a landing place indifferently by both parties. In 1776 the Danish Governor received an order from the Nawab, before he was ousted from Tanjore, for a supply of military stores. By the time they arrived the Nawab was no longer in possession of Tanjore, and the stores remained unused till 1780 when Admiral Hughes took them to Madras. Hyder heard of this on his occupation of the country and threatened to turn the Danes out of Tranquebar for supplying his enemies with arms, and only abstained on the payment of a fine of £. 14,000. The price of these stores remained unpaid till 1803, after the English had assumed the administration of the Carnatic and the responsibility for the Nawab's debts. The settlement of Tranquebar had meanwhile (in 1801) been taken from the Danes and it remained in the hands of the English till 1815. It was finally sold to the English in 1845 for twelve and a half lakhs of rupees; its annual revenue was about Rs. 21,000. From that year till 1860 it was the headquarters of the Collector, and from 1860 to 1873 it contained one of the two District and Sessions Courts, which was afterwards moved to Nagapattinam but re-established here from 1878 till 1884.

The place has greatly diminished in importance since it first came into British hands. It was then considered a fit place for the Collector's headquarters and the District Court; nowadays, however, it is not considered sufficiently prosperous to be a municipality. A great deal of public money was then spent directly or indirectly to improve the place; the Tranquebar-Tirumullavasal canal was designed to open the port to the produce of Sirkali, but it never was much used, and is now choked up. More than Rs. 20,000 were spent between 1847 and 1855 on combating the encroachments of the sea which had already eroded away between 400 feet and 600 feet of the beach. Groynes were constructed with no little difficulty and have prevented further damage. The reason for the decline of Tranquebar is no doubt chiefly to be found in the opening of the railway to Nagapattinam in 1861, which diverted traffic to that port. The removal of the Collector's office took place almost at the same time, and Tranquebar lost its commercial as well as official importance. There is very little commerce there now, though the port is open to foreign trade. The Leipzig Lutheran Mission has its

headquarters here, and a Roman Catholic Mission is also established in the town.

An interesting building is the Dansborg, a smaller fort, which was probably the only defensible part of the town during the large part of its history. A wooden tablet bearing a curious monogram of Christian V of Denmark dated 1677, which was formerly fixed in one of the rooms in the Dansborg, has been removed to the Museum at Madras. The old Collector's bungalow on the sea-shore is one of the finest houses in the district. It is not known when it was built, but it must have been before 1845. It is now called the Nadar's Bungalow. There are two churches and an ancient Siva temple, which has been washed away by the sea to a great extent. It contains an inscription of a Pandya king Kulasekhara, in which the town is called Sadanganpadi.

Valuvur:—(Population 2,632), half a mile from Elandangudi railway station, is considered by some to be the same as Vadavur*, the birth place of saint Manickavasagar. The story of his spending the king's treasure in building a temple has been described under Avadayar kovil in the Arantangi taluk. There are several inscriptions in the Virattaniswara temple in this village belonging to the Chōḷa, Pandya and other periods. Two of them record the construction of a gopuram (tower) and walls and the gift of a street. Another refers to the reclamation of certain lands submerged by the Cauvery floods and their cultivation under certain concessions. Yet another shows that in 1434 a tank and an irrigation channel were constructed and the temple income increased. The construction of a shrine to the goddess in the time of Kulothunga Chōḷa III (1183) and another to Manickavasagar are also referred to in the inscriptions. These show that endowments were made for the worship of the latter shrine and for the recitation of the famous poem Tiruvembavai composed by the saint.

NAGAPATTINAM TALUK.

Nagapattinam taluk lies on the east coast. It has an area of 240 square miles and a population of 261,236. Although it lies within the Cauvery delta, it is beyond the irrigation system of that river and it contains no alluvial land. The soil is not of a very high class. The people are considered to be the best educated in the district, and this characteristic and the general importance of the tract are due to

* Another village in the Madurai district also claims to be his birth place.

Nagapattinam town, which is a large municipality and sea-port with a population of 57,854. Most of the trade and industries of the taluk centre in Nagapattinam town. The taluk is traversed by the Southern Railway and its extension to Nagore, and at the western end it is crossed by the Mayuram-Arantangi Railway. The places of historical or antiquarian interest are described below :—

Anaimangalam :—(Population 716), is of epigraphical interest as it is referred to in what is known as the large Leyden grant,so called because it is kept in the Leyden Museum. The grant was issued by Rajendra Chōḷa I and records the gift of this village by Rajaraja I in the 23rd year of his reign to the Chudamani Padma Vihara at Nagapattinam built by a prince of Burma who was Rajaraja's feudatory. A smaller Leyden grant also records the grant of some land in this and certain other villages to the same vihara.

Ettukudi :—(Population 1,054), is 15 miles south-west of Nagapattinam. The Siva temple here is well known in this part of the country as a place of pilgrimage. Devotees were in the habit of taking vows that, if their prayers were granted, they would stick little silver arrows into themselves.

Kivalur :—(Population 3,956), 8 miles west of Nagapattinam. The old Siva temple of this place is a celebrated one. It is of some architectural beauty and somewhat resembles the Subrahmanya shrine near the large temple at Tanjore. The gopuram is nearly all built of granite, a rare thing in the east of the delta. The temple has a money allowance and a large endowment of land. Lally halted here in 1758 on his way to Tanjore and ransacked it for treasure. Here also he met the Tanjore envoys, and blew six harmless Brahmins from his guns, suspecting them to be spies.

Nagore:—Nagore has been included in the Municipality of Nagapattinam since its constitution. It is 4 miles from Nagapattinam and possesses a character and a history of its own. Its first appearance in general history is in 1758, when Lally, landing at Karaikkal on his expedition to Tanjore, plundered it on the way. He had expected a great booty, but the merchants had removed their money and jewels and offered very little for the redemption of their warehouses. Thereupon Lally farmed out the plunder of the town to the Commander of his hussars for Rs. 2,00,000. In 1773 the Dutch obtained it, along with a large strip of territory, in consideration of the money they had advanced to the Raja of Tanjore in that year. He was preparing to resist the English who were then meditating an attack upon him. Shortly afterwards Tanjore fell into the hands of the Nawab, and he at once induced the English to take possession of the place, which was done without firing a shot. An attempt was

made by the Nawab to retain possession of Nagore without compensating the Dutch ; but the obvious injustice of such a proceeding was apparent, and it was arranged that, while handing over the jewels and lands pledged to them by the late Raja, the Dutch should be repaid the money they had lent him. This territory was retained by the ruling power at Tanjore till 1778, when the English were prevailed upon by the restored Raja to accept it, with certain modification in its boundaries, as a mark of his gratitude for his restoration. The 'Nagore settlement', as it was called, contained 277 villages. Shortly afterwards (1781) the district was occupied by Hyder Ali, and the Dutch entered into an alliance with him against the English and obtained from him the cession of the Nagore Settlement, which had already been assigned to the British. The result of this was Sir Hector Munro's expedition against the Dutch at the end of that year, which resulted in the fall of Nagapattinam.

Nowadays the town contains a large number of Marakkayar traders. The port was, towards the end of the last century, opened for a year or two on the representations of some merchants that it was superior to that of Nagapattinam, but trade did not revive and it was closed again in 1902–1903. Nagore is chiefly famous, and indeed is known throughout and beyond the State, for the darga (tomb) of the Muhammadan Saint Miran Sahib. The saint is reputed to have lived more than 400 years ago, and his tomb is said to have been patronised by the Tanjore Rajas, by whom some of its minarets are believed to have been built. Tales are told about his miraculous deeds. The annual festival, which takes place in the autumn, attracts a large concourse of pilgrims and persons who have vows to pay, from every part of the State and even from beyond it. Hindus (even Brahmins) make vows to the tomb. The festival generally lasts for twelve days and most of the ceremonies take place at night. On the ninth evening a fakir is made to sit motionless in the darga and to remain so for 36 hours. The Tanjore Muslims have the right of choosing this fakir. He is richly rewarded for his performance. The darga, like other important institutions of the kind in the south of India, is visited during the festival by delegates from the Babayya darga at Penukonda in the Anantapur district, who are honourably received. The ceremony of the motionless fakir appears to have been borrowed from the festival at Penukonda.

The institution has a large endowment of land and its income from offerings is estimated at more than Rs. 50,000. It is an impressive white building of brick and plaster and possesses five tall minarets, the largest of which is 90 feet

high and a landmark well known to seamen. One of the minarets was built by Pratap Singh Raja. The interior consists of two irregular cloistered courts and the central tomb. The latter stands under a dome, and is approached through seven doors plated with silver. The management of the darga is in accordance with a scheme framed by the Sub-Court.

Nagapattinam :—(Population 57,854), is the headquarters of the Tahsildar and a Revenue Divisional Officer. It is an important seaport and Municipality. It is one of the few places in the Tamil country where Buddhism continued down to a very late period. This is probably due to its having been from ancient times a seaport in direct contact with Ceylon and perhaps also with Burma. From the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims such as Fa-Hian, Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing we learn that there was then a trade route, known as the southern sea-route between China and India by way of the Condore Isles, Sumatra, Java, the Straits of Malacca, the coast of Burma and Arakan, to Tamralipti (Tamluk), or else by the more adventurous way of Ceylon from Quedah. The latter route is specified by I-tsing who remarks, " . . . . going west thirty days from Quedah, merchants used to arrive at Nagavadana, whence after two days' voyage they reach Ceylon". The Kalyani inscriptions of 1476 establish the fact that the ships plying between Burma and Ceylon touched at Nagapattinam.

The only Hindu temple of any antiquity in the town is that of Kayarohanaswami. The place is called Karonam both in the inscriptions and in the Periyapuranam. The former belongs to the Chola times. Another temple, the Nilayathakshi Amman temple is known for the care with which the image is adorned; it has a large endowment of land. A third temple, the Sundararaja Perumal temple, also possesses a large endowment of land.

As a result of the trade between South India and the Malaya Peninsula, a colony of Malaya Buddhists particularly from Sri Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) settled down at Nagapattinam during the time of the Chōḷas. These settlers seem to have attempted to give a new lease of life to the declining Buddhism by erecting Buddhist temples under the patronage of the Chōḷa Kings. At the beginning of the eleventh century there were two Buddhist temples at the place named Rajarajapperumpalli and Rajendra Chōḷapperumpalli named after the kings during whose times they were built and endowed. Nagapattinam continued to be an important place for Buddhists even in the fifteenth century and Buddhist priests from Pegu are stated to have visited it.

An ancient tower of three storeys called Puduveli gopuram or the China (Jaina) Pagoda which had for long served as a landmark for sea-men and which was pulled down by the French Jesuits of the St. Joseph's College in 1867 might have formed part of one of the temples. Such storeyed temples were unknown in South India but are found in the Isles of the Archipelago. There is a story which says that Tirumangai Alwar, the Vaishnavite saint, carried away a golden image of Buddha from a Buddhist temple at Nagapattinam and utilized its gold for the Srirangam temple. During the last one hundred years numerous Buddhist images have been discovered on the site of the old temples. In 1856 five small images were unearthed, when the Jesuits cut down a huge mohwa (illuppai) tree which was said to have been 800 years old. The images were found in a chamber 3 feet below.

About the commencement of the Christian era, it appears to have been a chief city of the little known Naga people, from whom its name was no doubt derived. It became later one of the earliest settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast and was called by them 'the city of Choramandel'. It was naturally one of the first centres of the Portuguese mission. An interesting glimpse of their relations with the Court at Tanjore in the sixteenth century is given by the Venetian merchant, Cæsar Frederick, who visited the place about 1570 and relates that though "the Portugales and other Christians" were "well ontreated by the Nayar (i.e., the Nayak), yet for all this they are amongst tyrants which always at their pleasure may do them some harm". He goes on to describe how in 1565 the Nayaka sent to the citizens "to demand of them certaine Arabian horses"; and, on their refusal to oblige him, "it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the sea; which when the poore citizens understood they doubted some evil, to heare a thing that was not woont to be; they thought this man would come to sack the Citie". They therefore put out to sea with all their movables but a storm drove their ships ashore "and all the goods that came on land and were saved were taken from them by the souldiours and armis of this lord which came down with him to see the sea". The town was captured by the Dutch in 1660 and remained in their hands till 1781.

During the wars between the English and French the port was used by both parties. The Dutch sided at first with the former, but the growth of the English power in Bengal alarmed them for their own commercial success, and in 1759 we find them refusing to allow the British troops to land. In 1781 Tanjore was occupied by Hyder Ali and the Dutch entered into a defensive alliance with him against the English, and, to make matters worse, accepted at his hands a grant of the settlement of Nagore, which had been recently given to

the English. Accordingly a force was despatched from Madras against Nagapattinam in October of that year under Sir Hector Munro. The enemy were defeated at Nagore, and Nagapattinam was closely invested. The trenches were opened on November 3rd and the place capitulated on the 12th. As the besiegers numbered only 4,000 and the besieged fully 8,000, this speedy success was remarkable. It is explained by Wilks as due to the impression made on the enemy by the firmness, energy and intrepidity of the seamen and the marines who formed part of the British force. The French sent a fleet against Nagapattinam in the following January (1782); but they were defeated in a naval action off the port by Admiral Hughes and the fortifications were destroyed by him so as to render the place harmless. A few traces of the old fort still remain; a large flag-staff bastion stands on the bank of the river to the east of the railway station, and there are other portions along the line. The names West Gate, North Gate and Velipalaiyam survive and give indications of its extent.

On the cession of the country to the English, Nagapattinam was made the Collector's headquarters, and it continued as such till 1845, when Tranquebar was sold to the English and the Collector moved to that place. One of the two District Judges was also stationed at Nagapattinam from 1873 to 1875. The trade of the port has been described in the chapter on Industries and Trade. The harbour is the estuary of the river Kaduvaiyar, and is not a good one.

Some interesting relics of the Dutch occupation of the town survive. The old Dutch Church near the railway station contains a curious antique pulpit and sounding board and the pews and the gallery are also old. A stone in the building records its foundation in 1774. There is some evidence to show that this church was built in order to replace an earlier one on the shore which was washed away by the sea. At the close of the eighteenth century it was handed over to Guericke, a missionary of the S.P.C.K. and was on his death taken over by a clergyman of the Danish Mission. It was recovered by the S.P.G. who succeeded to the work and institutions of the S.P.C.K., after some dispute in 1836. It was again handed back to the Government, as the mission could not afford to replace its roof which had been blown off by a hurricane. The old Dutch cemetery is interesting on account of the antique tombs and massive stone slabs with inscriptions cut in large letters in high relief. They are stated to have been carved in and brought from Holland.

Sembiyan Mahadevi :—(Population 1,074), is named after the great queen mother of Uthama Chōla and the queen of

Gandaraditya. She is stated to have built the temple of Kailasam Udaiyar or Kailasanathar in this village. The queens (of whom as many as eight are mentioned) of her son Uthama made various gifts to this temple in her memory. The dowager queen was widowed early in life, when her son Uthama was too young to be crowned as the king. She became extremely religious and spent large sums of money in renovating old and ruined temples, in building new temples and in making presents of lands, jewels, vessels, etc., to them. Her charities extended throughout the Chōḷamandalam. Her benefactions gave a great impetus to the growth of temple architecture which exhibited itself fully in the reigns of Rajaraja I and his son Rajendra Chōḷa I. She was greatly venerated during her lifetime and deified after her death. It is recorded that an image of her was set up in the temple in this village in the year 1020. The image is, however, now missing.

Sikkil :—(Population 3,214), situated on the Nagore-Tanjore railway line, contains a temple dedicated to Kolavamana Perumal temple with a smaller Kumaraswami temple within it. The supervision of the temple was entrusted during the time of Sadasiva Raya, the Vijayanagar King, to Gnanaprakasa Pandaram referred to under Tiruvarur below. The annual festival of the temple is well attended.

Tiruvarur :—(Population 27,251), situated at the junction of the Mayuram–Arantangi and the Nagore–Tanjore railway lines, is well known for its Siva temple which is of remarkable beauty and sanctity and possesses the largest temple car in the district. This car was burnt by accident in 1926 but was rebuilt at a cost of Rs. 60,000 subsequently. There is a model of the temple in the Madras Museum. The legend relating to the origin of the temple says that Indra obtained from Vishnu an image of Thyagarajaswami (now the god of Tiruvarur) for assisting him in winning a victory over the Rakshasas. He was commanded not to relinquish it on any account but was forced by a trick to give it to the king of Tiruvarur in return for his assistance in fighting another battle with the Rakshasas. The king established the image in Tiruvarur and Indra was punished by being made to assume the form of a Harijan. Even now a Harijan is permitted as an hereditary right to precede the procession on festival days holding a white umbrella, one of the symbols of Indra, from whom he claims to be descended.

The building consists of an outer and an inner court, both enclosed in handsome stone walls, the former of which measures over 15 acres in extent and the latter over 5 acres. Each of the outer walls is entered by a gateway under a gopuram and all of these, except that in the southern wall (which is near the south-east corner), are placed in the middle of the

walls. The gopurams at the west and east are respectively 101 and 118 feet high. The lofty gateways are very impressive. Towards the north-east corner is a fine mantapam called the thousand-pillar mantapam remarkable for the number and size of the pillars. The ceiling of the mantapam is painted with artistic frescoes. The inner court contains numerous small shrines containing 108 lingams brought from Banaras. At the west end of the temple is a fine revetted tank called Kamalalayam covering more than 18 acres in the middle of which is a small shrine on an island dedicated to Naganathaswami.

Numerous inscriptions have been copied from the temple belonging mostly to the later Chōḷa and Pandya times recording gifts of various kinds to the temple. One of them dated 1560 says that Gnanaprakasa Pandaram of Tiruvarur was appointed as the supervisor of certain temples. This person is believed to have been the founder of the Dharmapuram matham and a portion of the trust properties called Rajan-Kattalai still vests in the matham. Another inscription shows that a Vinayakar temple was set up on the west bank of a tank in the time of Kulothunga Chōḷa III. This is perhaps the temple called Kuthadum Pillaiyar Kovil to the west of the Kamalalayam tank. Shrines for Vinayaka and Subrahmanya are also stated to have been built in the southern street in front of the temple. These exist even now, the latter being known as Komarar Kovil. Sembiyan Madeviar is stated to have built a shrine and made endowments for it besides presenting silver vessels to the main temple for the merit of her son Uthama Chōḷa. A king named Rajendradeva is said to have constructed a golden pavilion. The inscription relating to this mentions the exact quantity of gold used upon the work of gilding. Another inscription shows that for the erection of this pavilion all the gold and silver vessels in the temple treasury were used. There is evidence to show that certain portions of the garbhagraham and the ardhamantapam were also gold-plated, but the plating has now disappeared. An inscription of Rajendra Chōḷa I contains a long list of the valuable presents made by him. These include gold ornaments set with jewels, pearls, necklaces, gold utensils and lamp stands. More jewels and utensils were presented by Rajadhiraja and Rajendra II. Pearls, corals, jewels and precious stones and lands are also said to have been presented to the temple by another Chōḷa King. The keys of the jewel chests were put in charge of two custodians instead of one and penalties were laid down for cases of loss or mishandling. One of the inscriptions relates to the time of the Maharashtra Raja Sarabhoji (1711–1727) and shows that he made repairs to the temple. The legend of Manu Chōḷa's judgment of death on his only son for driving his chariot over a calf is sculptured on the south-east portion of the temple just

outside the gate. This is now treated as one of the protected monuments. The temple is richly endowed with lands and a large money allowance.

Velanganni :—(Population 2,804), six miles south of Nagapattinam, is well known for the large Roman Catholic festival which takes place every eighth of September and the nine preceding days in honour of the Virgin Mary as 'Our Lady of Health.' Not Christians only but Hindus also come to this from many parts of the State in the hope of obtaining relief from sickness. The village has consequently been called the Lourdes of India. The origin of the shrine is obscure, but the most commonly accepted account is that 200 or 300 years ago a wealthy Portuguese merchant, returning from China, was overtaken by a cyclone in the Bay of Bengal and vowed an altar to the Virgin if she saved him. Thereupon his vessel was guided in safety to Velanganni which it reached on the eighth of September. The merchant erected a little chapel to Our Lady of Health. This now forms the choir of the Church. The chapel was long in charge of the Portuguese Franciscans, but since 1847, secular priests from Mylapore have officiated.

NANNILAM TALUK.

This taluk has an area of 291 square miles and a population of 248,487. It is one of the central taluks situated entirely within the rich delta of the Cauvery river and is a very prosperous tract. Nearly the whole of it is irrigated, the rainfall is ample (44 to 46 inches) and more than half the soil is alluvial. The taluk is traversed by three railway lines, the Mayuram-Arantangi, the Tanjore-Tiruvarur and the Peralam-Karaikal lines. The following are the places of historical or antiquarian interest :—

Deepangudi five miles south-west of Nannilam, contains a few Jains and a fairly well-known Jain temple, the festival at which is attended not only by the Jains but also by a large number of Hindus.

Kandramanickam :—(Population 1,131) north-west of Nannilam, is believed to have been formerly an important settlement of a section of Brahacharanam Brahmins. However, there are only a very few families now.

Kodavasal :—(Population 7,210), nine miles west by south of Nannilam. The name signifies the 'pot mouth' and the village has a legendary connection with Kumbakonam which name means the 'body of the vessel'. Two legends exist. One says that, when Siva flooded the world to decimate the

human race, Vishnu escaped by floating in an earthenware vessel which stretched from Kodavasal to Kumbakonam ; the other states that Garuda, while carrying a pot full of nectar, dropped part of it here and part of it in Kumbakonam. The connexion is still kept up in certain matters of ritual. It is believed that a bath in the sacred Mahamakham tank at Kumbakonam has no efficacy, unless the worshipper has first bathed at Kodavasal. Pious persons always observe this rule, and thus the village is crowded by visitors at the time of the Kumbakonam festival. The neighbourhood abounds in coconuts and a small export trade in the nuts was formerly carried on directly with Bombay.

Koiltirumalam :—(Population 1,960), five miles north-east of Nannilam, is also known as Tiru-Amba-Mahalam. It is noted for its ancient temple about which the Tamil saints have sung. This temple was then called Ambar-Tirumagalam-Udaiyar. There are some inscriptions within the temple relating to its endowments and the repairs executed to it during the time of Vikrama Chōḷa. The temple was rebuilt by Nattukottai Chettiars some years ago. There is an old story connected with the place which is enacted at the largely attended festival here and in many popular dramas. According to this story, the God of the Tiruvarur temple was entreated by a pujari of this place to be present in the village at a sacrifice in his (the God's) honour. The God consented but gave warning that he would come in a very unwelcome shape. He appeared as a Harijan with beef on his back and followed by the four Vedas in the form of four dogs and took his part in the sacrifice thus accoutred and attended. All the Brahmins who were present ran away and the God was so incensed that he condemned them to be Harijans for one hour in the day, namely, from noon till 1 p.m. ever afterwards. There is a class of Brahmins called ' Midday Paraiyans ' who are found in several districts and a colony of whom reside at Sedanipuram, five miles west of Nannilam. It is believed throughout the Tanjore district that they are the descendants of the Brahmins thus cursed by the God. They are supposed to expiate their defilement by staying outside their houses for an hour and a half every day at midday and to bathe afterwards ; and if they do this, they are much respected. Few of them, however, observe this rule ; and orthodox persons will not eat with them because of their omission to remove the defilement. They call themselves the Prathamasakha.

Mangudi :—(Population 4,856), includes the railway station of Koradacheri on the Tanjore-Nagore line and is a big trading centre. It is quite probable that this village gave its name to the sect of Brahacharanam Brahmins.

Nannilam :—(Population 7,416), the headquarters of the taluk, is an ordinary agricultural town. The Siva temple

of Madhuvaneswaraswami contains some bee-hives. There is a story that a devotee brought these to the temple in order that he might anoint the God with honey.

Peralam :—(Population 3,209), is the junction for the railway to Karaikal. It was once the headquarters of a taluk. There is a temple with an endowment of 240 acres of land which is under the control of the Dharmapuram matham.

Srivanjiam :—(Population 1,492) three miles west by south of Nannilam, was called Rajagambhira Chathurvedimangalam in later Pandya times and Tiruvanjiam in Chola times. There is an ancient temple here to Vanjeswara which is mentioned in the Thevarams. A shrine to his goddess was built in the time of Rajaraja I in whose reign several gifts were also made to the temple. As people who die here are said to be freely admitted to heaven, people in good circumstances frequently allow themselves to be taken to this village for dying. There is a shrine to the God of Death (Yama) in the temple.

Tiruchankattangudi :—(Population 1,398), eight miles east by south of Nannilam, is known chiefly for the legend connecting it with Siruthondar, the Saivite saint. He was a contemporary of Tirugnanasambandar and figures in the Periapuranam. He was originally known as Paranjothi and was a military officer under the Pallava King who captured the town of Vathapi in 642 and razed it to the ground. After this he retired to the village of Tiruchankattangudi then known as Ganapatiswaram and became a great devotee of the god of the temple and became known as Siruthondar. According to the legend in the Periapuranam, his devotion was subjected to a severe test by Siva who appeared to him in the guise of an old Brahmin and asked him to serve a meal cooked with the flesh of his son Sirala. The father did so and the son was afterwards restored to life by the deity. The images of Siruthondar, his wife and son were set up in the Tanjore temple by Rajendra Chōḷa I. In the temple of Ganapathiswara itself a mantapam was built in his memory by Rajaraja I. It would appear that a shrine was set up in the temple for Uttarapathiswara evidently to commemorate the old Brahmin from the north country (Siva) who tested the saint. Several endowments were made to this shrine in the time of Kulothunga Chōḷa III. There is also a shrine for a Vathapi Ganapathi in the temple. Siruthondar's legend is enacted as a play at the annual festival which is largely attended. The temple is richly endowed with lands and is under the control of the Tiruppagalur matham. The site of Siruthondar's house is now marked by a mantapam bearing some sculptures. There is also a Siruthondar matham.

Tirukannapuram and Tirumarugal :—(Population 2,069 and 3,037 respectively), seven miles east of Nannilam are two adjoining villages containing ancient temples. The one at the

former had large grants made to it by the village assembly which met at Tiruchankattangudi. The residents of Tirumarugal were great devotees of the Sirala temple at Tiruchankattangudi and endowed lands for conducting the festival of Siruthondanayanar. They even laid out a road for taking a procession of Siraladeva to their village. The name Tirumarugal (Lakshmi's rejoining) is said to be derived from a legend which says that Lakshmi joined her husband Vishnu at this place after a short separation through the intervention of Siva. The village is also supposed to have contained the school attended by Sirala. Its site is now occupied by a Ganapathi temple. There is also a tank here called the Siralar tank. The village is also associated with Sambandar who is said to have restored to life a Chettiar youth who had run away with his beloved from Kaverippumpattinam and was bitten by a snake. There is also a small Siva temple dedicated to Ramanandiswarar at Tirukannapuram which, according to the inscriptions, was assisted by the authorities of the Chidambaram temple during the reign of Kulothunga II. There is likewise a Vishnu temple at this place dedicated to Savari Perumal which was built in 1200 and which contains some interesting inscriptions.

Tiruppagalur :—(Population 2,035), seven miles east of Nannilam, is well known for its temple and matham, the former dedicated to Kailasam Udayar or Kailasanathar which has been made famous by all the three Thevaram saints. Appar lived here for a number of years and obtained final beatitude. A festival is held every year at the tank surrounding the temple on three sides to commemorate this event. Sundaramurthi was here miraculously helped with gold which he required for celebrating a festival in the Tiruvarur temple. The inscriptions show that endowments were made to the temple by Chola kings and queens and that a shrine for Surya and his two consorts was built within the temple precincts. The matham at this place was really founded at Velakkurichi in the Tirunelveli district, but the temple is the most important and richly endowed of the temples under its management and the head of the matham generally resides here. It is peculiar in containing no monks besides the head. It manages the temples at Tiruchankattangudi and Tirumechiyur.

Tiruppamburam :—(Population 1,069), contains a temple about which Tirugnanasambandar has sung. One of the inscriptions in its temple shows how during a great famine which occurred in 1208 a Vellala who was dying of starvation sold himself and his two daughters as slaves to the temple for 110 kasus. The inscription says: "The time was very bad; paddy was selling at three measures per kasu." Other inscriptions relate to the endowments made by King Sarabhoji (1711–1727).

Tiruvizhimalalai :—(Population 1,681), six miles north-west of Nannilam, is well known for its temple of Siva which

has two legends. One of these says that Vishnu obtained his Chakra by worshipping Siva at this place. Vishnu used to offer 1,000 flowers daily, but one day he found one flower short and immediately plucked out his eye to make good the deficiency. This so pleased Siva that he gave him the Chakra. Tiruvizhi or holy eye in the name Tiruvizhimalalai is said to refer to this legend. The other legend says that saints Appar and Sambandar were each presented by the god with a gold coin at a time of famine to feed their followers and the pillar on which the coin was placed is shown even now. One of the inscriptions shows that Kulothunga Chōḷa III ordered a new channel to be dug near this place in the place of one which had been silted up during the floods.

PAPANASAM TALUK.

Papanasam taluk was formed in 1910 out of some villages on the western side of the old Kumbakonam and some villages on the eastern side of the old Tanjore taluks. The Coleroon forms its northern boundary and it is well irrigated by the Cauvery and her channels. The construction of the Mettur Dam has improved the irrigation. The taluk has an area of 228 square miles and a population of 216,498. It is traversed by the main line of the Southern Railway from Madras to Tuticorin. Silk weaving and mat weaving are the chief industries here. The chief places of antiquarian or historical interest are described below :—

Alangudi :—(Population 1,248), is situated at the ninth mile on the road from Kumbakonam to Nidamangalam. The Siva temple here is mentioned in the Thevarams and is described in them as Irumbulai. Several inscriptions relating to the Chōḷa period have been found. One of them gives an interesting account of a local famine in which the ryots borrowed from the temple and made over 50 acres of land to it towards interest. Another refers to a settlement of the revenue of the village.

Amaravathi :—(Population 190), near Alangudi is known as the birth-place of Sir A. Seshayya Sastri (1828–1903), the great administrator, who rose from humble beginnings to become the Dewan of Travancore and afterwards the Dewan and then the Regent of Pudukkottai.

Avur :—(Population 2,410) seven miles south-east of Papanasam, is celebrated in Gnanasambandar's padikas for its temple of Pasupatiswara and a place where Indra, the Seven Rishis and Cows worshipped Siva. Avur was the name of a kurram or union of villages in Chōḷa times.

Ayyampettai :—(Population 9,352) nine miles north, north-east of Tanjore, was the scene of the battle fought about 1674 between Venkaji and the usurping Viceroy of the Madurai Nayaka, when the former was on his way to restore

the Nayaka of Tanjore. Saliamangalam situated close to this village, now a firka development centre, has an inscription of the Hoysala King Ramanatha. Another inscription of Kulothunga III refers to the sale of some maid servants to the local temple.

Ganapathiagraharam :—(Population 2,554), lies on the north bank of the Cauvery about 2½ miles from Ayyampettai. Its temple of Ganapathi is maintained by the villagers who are mostly Brahmins and who celebrate the festivals of Vinayaka-chathurthi and Vijayappattram on a grand scale.

Kapisthalam :—(Population 3,426), stands on the northern bank of the Cauvery about a mile and a half from Papanasam railway station. The name is said to be derived from the monkey kings Vali and Sugriva who worshipped at the Vishnu temple here. This old temple is one of the 108 temples celebrated by the Alwars in their songs.

Melattur :—(Population 5,711), lies three miles south of Ayyampettai railway station. In its chief Siva temple dedicated to Unnathapuriswara, there are a few inscriptions relating to the period of Rajaraja I. There is also a temple of Trilokanatheswara at Irumbuthalai which is part of the village. This temple received supplies of paddy during the time of Rajaraja I and Vikrama Chola.

Nallur :—(Population 1,733), about three miles east of Papanasam, is a centre of Saivite worship and has been celebrated by Tirugnanasambandar and Appar in their Thevarams. It has a temple dedicated to Kalyanasundareswarar, the linga of which appears to have been made of shining metal and not of stone as is generally the case. Amongst the inscriptions discovered here may be mentioned one belonging to the time of Vira Ramanatha which shows that the Hoysalas held sway over the Cholamandalam from 1251 to 1271. Another relates to a matham whose head was a 'Tattamudaiyar Isanadeva'. Isanadeva was a teacher of the Mudaliyars or chiefs of the Maligai Matham at Tiruvadamarudur, who had evidently settled at Nallur.

Papanasam :—(Population 8,753), is the headquarters of the taluk and contains a temple of Srinivasa Perumal which was built out of the stones of an older temple which itself had been reconstructed in 1448 and endowed with the entire village in the reign of Mallikarjuna of Vijayanagar. The Nayaka Kings of Tanjore and their famous minister Govinda Dikshitar also made endowments to it.

Rajagiri :—(Population 5,824), is situated close to Pandara vadai railway station. The name Rajagiri seems to be a corrupt form of Rajakesari from Rajakesari-Chathurvedi-mangalam which was the name of the village in Chōḷa times. The names of the streets and channels show that it was a Hindu village formerly.

Sakkarapalli :—(Population 3,943), is situated close to Rajagiri. The Siva temple in the village was the scene of a Hindu-Muslim riot in 1921. The procession of the God during the Saptasthanam festival in the month of Panguni was obstructed by a Muslim mob and the jewels of the God were plundered. Forty-two of the rioters were convicted, but the procession was given up and there has been no further trouble.

Tirukkarugavur or Tirukkalavur :—(Population 1,311), is four miles south of Papanasam railway station. The temple of Madhavivaneswarar at this place has been celebrated by Tirugnanasambandar in his songs and is believed to have been worshipped by the moon and the stars. In the inscriptions of Parantaka I (905-947) there is a reference to the Pidari and the Mahavishnu temples at this place, which would show that these are ancient institutions.

Tirupalathurai lies within the limits of Papanasam town. There is an old temple here dedicated to Palavaneswaraswami, the inscriptions of which relate to Chōḷa and Vijayanagar times. There is evidence to show that a shrine to Tirugnanasambandar was set up in the temple. During a period of distress a Chōḷa King seems to have endowed this temple with the village of Chidambaranallur.

Tiruvaigavur :—(Population 2,718), seven miles north of Papanasam, contains the Bilva-vanakshetram celebrated in Tirugnanasambandar's Thevaram as the place where Lakshmi worshipped Siva. There are several inscriptions in it. The most important of these is one dated 1429 in the Vijayanagar period and refers to the Right and Left hand castes and states that from the time of the Kannadiyars (Hoysalas) the village had been declared to be Jivitaparru or leasehold of the temple servants. It also shows that in order to improve the village which had been ruined by the renting of its revenues to outsiders, the village assembly fixed the taxes on the various classes of lands and houses and professions.

Valangiman :—(Population 6,036), five miles south of Kumbakonam, was formerly the headquarters of a taluk. Some Tamil Brahmins called Kona Sima Dravidas, who say that their ancestors emigrated from the Godavari district, live in this place.

PATTUKKOTTAI TALUK.

This was the southernmost taluk of the district until 1910 when the Arantangi taluk was carved out of it. It has an area of 698 square miles and a population of 401,818. It was formerly in several ways a striking contrast to the other taluks of the district chiefly on account of its inferior soil and lack of the Cauvery irrigation. The construction of the Mettur Dam

has, however, changed the face of the country over a large portion of it. The old pilgrim road to Rameswaram passed through this taluk and a number of chatrams constructed by the Rajas of Tanjore provided food and lodging for the travellers. After the railway line to Rameswaram was opened, the road and the chatrams have become practically unnecessary. The railway line from Mayuram to Karaikkudi passes through the taluk. The places of historical or antiquarian interest and importance are briefly described below :—

Adirampattinam :—(Population 13,074), is a small port lying eight miles south-east of Pattukkottai in the north-west corner of Palk's Bay and at the western end of the great mud swamp that extends as far as Point Calimere. The name is a contraction of Adi-Vira-Ramapattinam, the place having been founded by the Pandyan King Ativira Rama (1562–1567). This port has a large Muslim population. An annual Kandoori festival held at the tomb of a saint named Sheik Allauddin Sahib Andavar is largely attended.

Gandarvakottai :—(Population 3,271), lies due south of Tanjore on the Pudukkottai border. It was the headquarters of the largest zamindari of that name before the latter was taken over by the Government. The zamindari is stated to have been given by a Nayaka Raja of Tanjore in return for checking the depredations of the Kallars.

Madukkur :—(Population 8,580), seven miles north-east of Pattukkottai, has a weekly market at which there is a trade in grain. It was until recently part of a zamindari granted originally by Raja Sarabhoji to one of his infantry commanders named Krishna Gopalar.

Manjavayal :—(Thamarankottai South), situated eight miles east of Pattukkottai, is noted for its temple of Sri Subramania. It is said that Lord Subramania of Palni manifested at this place in response to the call of a Muslim known as Annaiviyar. Many pilgrims attend the annual festival held here in Chitrai (April–May).

Nagaram :—This was the headquarters of the zamindar of Sendangudi. It is situated eighteen miles west of Pattukkottai. There is an important temple dedicated to Subramania seated on a bullock. An annual festival is conducted here in the month of Panguni (March–April).

Orathanad[1] :—(Population 5,035), 14 miles south-east of Tanjore is noted for the most magnificent chatram in the district built by Raja Sarabhoji. It is called the Mukthambal chatram after Sarabhoji's mistress and has a very large income from four entire villages granted by the British Government under a sanad dated 8th October 1805. The chatram consists of a number of fine buildings which afford ample

[1] Since writing the above Orathanad has become (1954) the headquarters of a new taluk.

accommodation for travellers of all classes. There is a fine tank, partly revetted, in front of the choultry, on the banks of which Vedic sacrifices were performed in 1801 during the time of Sarabhoji under salas or sheds specially erected for the purpose. The site of the sacrifices has been marked by an inscribed stone planted over the figure of a garuda with spreading wings built in brick and mortar.

Parakkalakottai :—(Population 736), is eight miles east-south-east of Pattukkottai. There is a temple called Poduvidayarkoil in the village. Pooja is offered at the foot of an age-long banyan tree enclosed by a compound. Lord Siva is supposed to have appeared here as an arbitrator in some dispute.

Pattukkottai :—(Population 18,246), is the headquarters of the Tahsildar and a Revenue Divisional Officer. It seems to have been named after a fort now in ruins supposed to have been built by one Pattu Malavarayar. There is also an inscription which ascribes the construction of the fort to Vanaji Pandithar Aiyar Avargal in honour of Shahji Maharajah in 1686–87. The inscription claims that the founder conquered all the Pattukkottai country inhabited by the Kallars extending to the south as far as the Pambanar. The fort was garrisoned by the British in 1781 and captured by Hyder Ali in the same year when he invaded the district. There is an important and well-endowed temple to the village Goddess Nadiamman to which people come in large numbers in Panguni (March-April). Many persons make vows to the temple and boys are often named Nadi after the Goddess. A large Roman Catholic festival takes place at about the same time at Virakurichi, a village four miles off.

Perumagalur :—(Population 2,763), twenty miles south of Pattukkottai, is noted for its Siva temple which contains a lingam of an unusual character, made of a single white stone. It was built by Rajaraja Chōḷa. The story goes that on his way to Rameswaram he saw a beautiful lotus in a pool and had it plucked whereupon the lingam was found underneath it. He embraced it and the marks made by his jewels on the stone are shown to this day.

Saluvanayakkanpattinam :—(Population 1,515), is known also as Tulukkanvayal and Sarabendrarajanpattinam and is situated on the coast ten miles south of Pattukkottai. It is only remarkable as containing the memorial tower which was built by Raja Sarabhoji in 1814 to commemorate the downfall of Napoleon. The tower is eleven storeys high and is built of stone. It is surrounded by a moat and wall and bears an inscription to commemorate the triumphs of the British arms and the downfall of Buonaparte. The tower which is generally called the Manora was at one time used as a light-house.

Setubavachatram :—(Population 531), lies on the coast twelve miles south by west of Pattukkottai. It is named after the guru of the Maharashtra Rajas, Setubava, who founded a well-endowed chatram at this place.

Tiruchittambalam :—(Population 2,383), three miles from the railway station of that name. Tirugnanasambandar has sung about the temple at this place in his Thevarams and described the place as Thiruchitramani or Chitramani. Prominence is given to worship of Nataraja or the dancing aspect of Siva, although the temple is dedicated to Puratana Vaneswara or the lord of the primeval forest. Two inscriptions obtained from the village show that in the latter half of the fifteenth century the country around was governed by a family of petty chiefs who bore the name of Malavaraya, a name which is still current among many families in Tanjore.

SIRKALI TALUK.

This is the north-easternmost and smallest taluk in the district. It has an area of 171 square miles and a population of 163,891. Situated in the delta of the Cauvery, it contains much more wet land than dry; but this is generally not of the best kind, because the irrigation channels of the Cauvery have deposited most of their fertilising silt before they reach this tract. The bulk of the soil is, however, alluvial and the Coleroon channels from the Lower Anicut, some of which flow through the taluk, bring more silt. The position of the taluk on the coast results in its receiving the large rainfall of 64 inches and it is prosperous on the whole from an agricultural point of view. Few industries are carried on in the taluk, only ordinary weaving and mat and basket making being done in a few villages. The Madras Dhanushkodi line of the Southern Railway passes through the taluk. The places of historical or antiquarian importance are dealt with below :—

Achalpuram :—(Population 2,887), ten miles north-east of Sirkali, is chiefly famous for its Siva temple of Sri Sivaloka Thiagarajaswami which is connected with Tirugnanasambandar who is said to have been married here and to have been carried off to heaven with his wife in a cloud of fire, while he stood before the shrine after the ceremony. A festival is held every May to commemorate the marriage. The village was the scene of some fighting in the early wars of the English in this district. After seizing Devicottah in 1744 Lawrence resolved to take possession of the temple of Achalpuram lying 5 miles to the south-west and he detached 100 Europeans and 300 sepoys for the purpose. There was naturally no resistance from the Brahmins in charge of the temple, who only entreated the soldiers not to enter the more sacred places. The Tanjore army was, however, enraged at the pollution and attacked the

temple at once. It was, however, unable to drive out the English. The temple was again occupied by the English in 1759 and shortly afterwards by the French.

Devicottah (Tivukottai or the island fort) is an island ten miles north-east of Sirkali. Though there are no traces now of the fort which gave its name, it was of considerable importance during the early days of the French and the English. When in 1744 Saiyaji solicited the assistance of the English to reinstate him on the Tanjore throne, Devicotta was the price demanded for their help. They thought that an excellent harbour could be made there by removing the bar at the mouth of the Coleroon. Accordingly in April 1749 they sent out an expedition from Cuddalore with 430 Europeans and 1,000 sepoys. It could not, however, take the place, as it missed the fleet which was to support it with supplies and battering cannon. Its retreat was hampered by sniping from the neighbouring thickets and a panic among the camp followers at the crossing of a channel resulted in 400 of them being drowned in a quarter of an hour. A second and larger expedition under Lawrence was sent by sea in the next month. A breach was made in the walls by the guns and after crossing the river by means of a large raft the troops made an assault and carried the fort without much opposition. The place was garrisoned by the English and soon became very useful both as a point of debarkation for the war near Tiruchirappalli and as a retreat for the wounded. It was, however, abandoned to the French in 1757. But the latter evacuated it to their great loss as they found later in the following year and it was reoccupied by the English and continued to be in their possession till the end of the war.

Kaveripatnam at the mouth of the Cauvery was once one of the chief cities of the Chōḷa Kingdom. It was also known as Kaverippumpattinam and Puhar in ancient times. The river, on the northern bank of which the town stood, was then a deep stream into which heavily laden ships even from far off countries made their way without slackening sail. The town was divided into two parts, Maruvur-Pakkam adjoining the sea coast and Paddina-Pakkam to the west. Between the two was an open space planted with trees at regular intervals where the great market was held. The superior classes of the population lived in Paddina-Pakkam. Here too was the king's palace which is described as a magnificent structure erected and furnished by the skilled artisans of India and Europe. The Maruvur-Pakkam was occupied by the artisans and European merchants. Nowadays there are no relics of all this grandeur and the place is inhabited only by a few fishermen. It is likely that the encroachments of the sea washed away or submerged this ancient town. It is still, however, a sacred bathing place, since the Cauvery enters the sea here. The place was the birth-place

of the Saint Pattanathu Pillai and the Nattukkottai Chettiars and the 'Twelfth Chettiars' of Tiruchirappalli say that their ancestors were originally settled in it.

Nangur :—(Population 2,793), five miles south-east of Sirkali, contains a Vishnu temple at which an annual festival takes place in honour of the Saint Thirumangai Alwar. The gods from the Vishnu temples in twelve adjacent villages meet at Nangur on this occasion. The Alwar is said to have visited these twelve temples.

Sayavanam, eleven miles south-east of Sirkali, contains a Siva temple at which every one who bathes at Kaveripatnam comes to worship after bathing. The sanctity of the place is explained by a legend in the Periya Puranam. A devotee of Siva named Iyarpagai Nayanar is said to have been so extraordinarily charitable that the God, to test him, appeared to him as an old man and asked him to give him his wife to cook his meals. The generous devotee consented, but such were the protestations of his relatives that he had to accompany the God and his wife to protect them from harm. When they got to Nangur, the God revealed himself and took the saint and his wife to heaven. One of the inscriptions found in the temple of Sayavaneswara describes it as situated at Kaverippumpattinam in Nangurnadu. Another inscription relating to the grant of lands to a matham built by a minister of Vikrama Chola describes the place as situated in Puhar Nadu. The village was therefore apparently part of or adjacent to, the great city. There is also in the village a temple of Pallavaneswaraswami which contains a shrine of Pattanathu Pillai.

Sirkali :—(Population 15,275), is the headquarters of the Tahsildar. The town is renowned in Tamil literature as the birth-place of Tirugnanasambandar. The Saivite temple here contains a shrine dedicated to him. The temple is a spacious building containing a large tank and several separate shrines. It enjoys a large income. A festival known as Tirumulaippal festival is held every April in honour of Tirugnanasambandar. The story goes that, when still a child the saint was taken by his father to this shrine. Becoming hungry he began to cry whereupon the Goddess took pity on him and gave him her own milk. When his father asked him where he got his milk from, he broke out into song in praise of the God. At the festival pots of milk are presented to the God and it is supposed that to drink milk which has been so presented makes a man wise. The name of the Tirutalamudaiyar temple in Agara Tirukkolakkal is derived from another story concerning the saint, according to which, golden cymbals dropped miraculously into his hands when he was praising the God there.

Tirunagari :—(Population 2,785), is situated four miles south-east of Sirkali and contains an important Vishnu temple

at which a festival is celebrated every April in honour of Thirumangai Alwar who in his youth was leading a bad life but was converted by the God to a better way of life.

Tiruvenkadu :—(Population 4,004), lying six miles south-east of Sirkali, is known in Tamil literature as giving a name to Tiruvenkattunangai, the wife of Siruthonda Nayanar. There is a temple in which a festival is held in March to celebrate two acts of deliverance by the God. The first is the slaying of Antaka, the God of death, who tried to carry off the pious king of Tiruvenkadu and was killed by the God in consequence. The other is the killing of an asura who drove Indra out of heaven and pursued him as far as Tiruvenkadu. Nandi went to help Indra, but was sorely wounded. Whereupon Siva himself came to the rescue and killed the asura. Inscriptions found in the temple show that a queen of Rajaraja presented a golden bowl and another queen a crown of rubies and yet another several lands to the temple of Sweteswaranyaswami. They also show that the temple was repaired by Sembiyan Madeviyar in 991. Great sanctity is attached to the shrine of Aghora Virabhadraswami in the temple. There is a special midnight worship for this God every Sunday.

Vaitheeswarankovil :—(Population 4,377), a railway station three and a half miles south of Sirkali, takes its name from the large and important Siva temple of that name. The God of this temple, according to the legend, healed the wounds of the followers of his son Subrahmanya during a battle with a giant of this place. It is believed that persons who worship at this shrine are healed of their diseases. Women especially are believed to be dispossessed of the devils. There is a masonry pit filled with ashes supposed to have healing properties, which are said to be those of Jatayu who was killed by Ravana whom he tried to prevent from carrying away Sita and who was gratefully cremated by Rama at this place. A bath in the temple tank is also said to cure diseases. A festival is celebrated in the temple every February. The temple is managed under a scheme sanctioned by the Civil Court by a trustee from the Tiruvadamarudur matham. The shrine to Kumaraswami (Subrahmanya) is held in great regard, as he is said to have been worshipped by Siva, his own father.

TANJORE TALUK.

Tanjore is the westernmost taluk in the district. It has an area of 421 square miles and a population of 381,984. The construction of the Mettur Dam brought under irrigation its southern and western parts which were formerly a contrast to the northern and eastern parts which contained some of the best and well-irrigated lands in the district. The taluk contains

a number of towns and large villages of interest from an industrial, religious or historical point of view. Two branches of the Southern Railway pass through the taluk. The places of historical or antiquarian interest are described below :—

Budalur :—(Population 2,615) is a railway station eleven miles west of Tanjore. It was called Girikondacholanallur in ancient times and a king who cannot be recognized but is simply referred to as Konerimaikondan gave some lands to the Apatsahaya temple situated in it. Traces of an old canal are seen in the adjoining villages. This canal is stated to have been dug in continuation of the Uyyakondan Canal of the Tiruchirappalli district, by one of the Chōḷa Kings in order to bring water to the Sivaganga tank at Tanjore. The temple was taken by the English, when investing Tanjore, so as to secure the communication between that place and Tiruchirappalli.

Kandiyur :—(Population 3,169) is situated five miles north-west of Tanjore. It was the scene of a skirmish in 1751 between a small detachment of English under Clive and a French detachment. A number of inscriptions belonging to the Chōḷa period have been found in the Siva temple of Virataneswara. One of the inscriptions relates to the appointment of a dancing master. This temple is mentioned in the Periyapuranam. The neighbouring villages of Tiruvedikudi and Tiruchaturai or Sorruturai and Tiruppanthuruthi are also mentioned. Tiruvedikudi and Tiruchaturai have been made famous by the Thevarams. Tiruppanthuruthi also glorified by Appar in his Thevarams was the place where the saint met Tirugnanasambandar. Grants were made to the temple of Pushpavaneswara at this place by the Chōḷa, Pandya, Vijayanagar and Maharashtra Kings. The temples at all the three places are well attended.

Koviladi :—(Population 2,689), lies in the extreme north-west of the taluk between the Coleroon and the Cauvery. It played a part of some importance in the wars of the eighteenth century. It was near Tiruchirappalli, where fighting was continually in progress, was at the edge of the fertile country from which supplies were obtained for the troops engaged and more or less commanded the works which kept the Cauvery from flowing to waste into the Coleroon, being only five miles from the Grand Anicut. The place changed hands several times during the Anglo-French wars. It was first in the hands of the English, then the French and then the Tanjore troops under Mankoji and was retaken by the French under Maissin who cut the Grand Anicut. The place was again occupied by the English who repaired the dam. On the cessation of hostilities it was a source of contention between the Nawab of Arcot and the Raja, but it was confirmed to the latter by the treaty of 1762. It was seized by the English in 1771 and retained as a guarantee for the payment of the money due by the Raja and

was finally given back to him in 1776. An interesting inscription in the Ranganatha temple records the grant, by a Vijayanagar King, of the country round Tiruchirappalli to a prince of that family named Vittala. Another inscription in the Siva temple gives some details of a famine in the time of Vikrama Chola. A number of other inscriptions in this and the neighbouring village of Tiruchanampundi belonging to the Chōḷa and Pallava periods record sales or gifts of land to the temples.

Mannarsamudram also called Sendalal:—(Population 2,018), lies thirteen miles north-west of Tanjore. There is a community of Vellalars called Sendalai Vellalars who seem to have taken their name from the village. The village was in ancient times called Chandralekai and its temple was called Perunthurai. Some of its pillars came from a Pandyan temple at Nemam. An inscription of Vira Ramanatha shows that the Hoysalas had extended their territories so far south. During Chōḷa times provision was made for reciting Bharatham in one of the temple mantapams. There is also a Pidari temple in the village which has received endowments from Nandivarman III, the Pallava King, and some local chieftains. The village was the stronghold of the Muttarayas or Muttarasas who were generals under the Pallava Kings. It was from these Muttarayas that Tanjore was taken by Vijayalaya.

Nemam :—(Population 1,263), eighteen miles north-west of Tanjore, contains a temple dedicated to Airavatheswara, endowments to which had been made by Aditya I and his son Parantaka I.

Sengipatti :—(Population 2,143), situated midway between Tanjore and Tiruchirappalli, a mile and a half south of the trunk road, has come into prominence recently, as the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Tuberculosis Sanatorium is located here.

Tanjore :—(Population 100,680) is a Municipality and is the headquarters of the Collector. It is a junction for the Nagapattinam branch of the Southern Railway. Although not a rising town, it is a spot of great historical and archaeological interest. It possesses a fairly cool and remarkably equable climate, is situated south of the Vadavar river on the western side of the delta at a point where the distributaries of the Cauvery are not yet very widely separated and stands amidst level country thickly dotted with trees. The town consisted formerly of the larger and the smaller forts and two suburbs. The walls of the larger fort have now been pulled down and the moat filled up. The smaller fort is in good preservation and its old walls and deep moat are a fine sight.

The name of Tanjore is linked with that of the Chōḷas who have left in the great temple here a striking relic of their genius. The town seems to have been in existence even in the tenth century; for, in an inscription the Rashtrakuta King, Krishna III, boasts of having captured Tanjore. It continued to be the royal residence till after the reign of Rajaraja I (985–1013). His successor[1] Rajendra Chōḷa I (1011–1044), removed his capital to Gangaikondacholapuram and Tanjore seems to have lost its importance temporarily. But it seems to have remained sufficiently important to deserve the boast of the Pandyan King in the thirteenth century that he 'burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur.' It does not, however, appear that any harm was done to the great temple. It is not clear what happened to Tanjore in the obscure years which intervened between the invasion of Malik Kafur (1310) and the establishment of the Nayakas (about 1549). Some inscriptions of the early Vijayanagar chieftains dated in the fifteenth century have been found in Tanjore, which show that the place had not sunk into insignificance and, when the Nayakas acquired the district, Tanjore was selected as their capital. They built the two forts. Tanjore was the scene of the death of the last Nayaka King the details of which are given in one of the Mackenzie manuscripts. As we have already seen, when the invaders from Madurai forced their way into the large fort and appeared at the palace gate, the king, who had previously caused the ladies' apartments to be stored with gunpowder, ordered it to be blown up; and then he and his son, Mannaru, dashed out of the palace, sword in hand, and died fighting to the last. The story is still kept in mind by the shattered town in the north-western corner of the palace. That part of the building is believed to be visited by the ghosts of the unfortunate women who died in it.

The Maharashtra dynasty founded soon afterwards also had its capital at Tanjore. During their rule the city was attacked on various occasions by Chanda Sahib, the French and the English. It, however, escaped from Hyder Ali. In 1799, when the country was ceded to the English by Rajah Sarabhoji, the fort and a small area around it was allowed to remain under his authority. On the death of Sivaji in 1855 without sons it also passed under the English. The headquarters of the Collector were removed to Tanjore in 1860 and have remained there ever since. In 1863 the District Court was also removed to it from Kumbakonam.

The great Brihadeeswara temple, also called Rajaraja temple after its founder, described briefly in the chapter on Early History is entered by a fine gateway surmounted by a gopuram on the east and the way leads through an outer court and by a second and more handsome gateway into the

[1] *See* pages 26–27 also of this book.

main court in which the temple is built. This court is 500 feet long and 250 feet broad, is well paved with brick and stone and is surrounded on all sides by a cloister. The main shrine stands rather at the western end of the courtyard and all around it are scattered mantapams and smaller shrines. Above it rises to a height of about 200 feet a most striking tower which is finely decorated with pillars and statues of various sizes. The basement of the structure which supports the tower[1] is 96 feet square and the erection is capped by a single block of granite estimated to weigh 80 tons and believed to have been conveyed to the top up an inclined plane commencing from the village of Sarapallam ('scaffold hollow') four miles away. An interesting feature in the ornamentation of the tower is the fact that the carvings are generally of a Vaishnavite type, though the ornamentation of the other parts is Saivite. This is because the tower was repaired during the time of the Nayakas who were Vaishnavites. These later repairs also account for the figure of a European with a cocked hat among the sculptures.

The temple has excited the admiration of all archæologists. Fergusson remarked that "in nine cases out of ten Dravidian temples were a fortuitous aggregation of parts arranged without a plan as accident dictated at the time of their erection" and that "the one great exception to this rule was to be found at Tanjore where the temple was commenced on a well-defined and stately plan which was persevered in till its completion." The base of the temple and many other parts of it and its surroundings are thickly covered with inscriptions chiefly belonging to the reign of Rajaraja and his successors. Most of them relate to the endowments in lands, jewels, gold and silver vessels, etc., made by him, his sister Kundavai and his queens to the temple. The inscriptions give an insight into the fiscal management of the temple, the currency in vogue, the prices of articles, the rates of interest, etc. About 400 women (apparently dancing women) were transferred to the temple as soon as it was built from various other temples in the Chōḷa country. They were mostly married women and received each a veli of land yielding about 100 kalams for their services in the temple. Several villages undertook to supply the watchmen required for the temple and shepherds the milk and ghee required for worship. There is reference to a political compact among the subordinate chiefs by which they undertook to be faithful to the king and to stand by each other against foreign invaders. Shrines were set up for the Tamil saints and arrangements were made for their worship and for reciting their songs, 48 persons being appointed to do the chanting.

Of the smaller works inside the temple court, the small Subrahmanya temple in the north-west corner and the colossal monolith figure of the bull Nandi are particularly worthy of

[1] It is popularly said that the gopuram never throws a shadow on the ground.

notice. The former is covered with delicate figures and pillars and has been pronounced to be as exquisite a piece of decorative art as is to be found in the south of India. It is " a perfect gem of carved stonework, the tooling of the stone in the most exquisitely delicate and elaborate patterns is as clear and sharp as the day it left the sculptor's hands." It is a few centuries more modern than the great temple. The great bull 'Nandi' is massive and striking but is not particularly well carved. Its height is over twelve feet, its length nineteen and a half and its breadth eight and a quarter feet. It is cut out of gneiss of a decidedly hornblendic character which probably came from a bed of this stone at the foot of the Pachamalai hills near Perambalur in the Tiruchirappalli district. The stones of the main temple probably came from the Mammalai eight miles east-south-east of Tiruchirappalli.

The temple court contains likewise a shrine to a great person known as Karurar. This holy man, a Brahman of Karur, was despised by his castemen for not observing the distinctions of caste and for taking food from the lowest classes. Rajaraja, however, recognized his worth and invited him to Tanjore to consecrate the great temple which he had built. There is an image of him in a small shrine behind the central tower which is worshipped by crowds of people especially on Thursdays. Its annual festival in April-May is largely attended.

The temple and its counterpart at Gangaikondachola-puram are not among those celebrated in the Thevarams, since they were built long after the time of the Thevaram saints, but, as has been stated above, shrines of all the Tamil saints are found in the temple and worship at these shrines has been provided for.

In the north-west portion of the smaller fort in which the big temple is situated is a fine tank called the Sivaganga tank the construction of which is ascribed by tradition to Rajaraja I. In the north-east corner stands the Schwartz Church founded in 1779 by Schwartz the well-known Christian missionary who resided principally in Tanjore. It is a plain building and contains, besides a few graves and inscriptions, a sculpture of Sarabhoji's visit to Schwartz in November 1797 during his illness a few months before his death. Standing by the side of the bed is Guericke who had been Sarabhoji's guardian and tutor at Madras and was with Schwartz when he died. Service is performed here every New Year's Day.

The old palace is a very large and rambling collection of buildings supposed to have been erected by the Nayakas. Its chief sights are the two durbar halls called respectively after the Nayakas and the Maharashtras. Both are spacious and brightly coloured apartments with pillared roofs. The former contains a remarkable slab of gneiss (18′ × 16′ × 2′ 1½″) on which the throne used probably to be placed but which is now

occupied by a fine statue of Sarabhoji. In the Maharashtra durbar hall there are large pictures of all the Maharashtra Kings beginning with Shahji, father of Venkaji. The Durbar Hall and the surrounding portion of the palace buildings now house the Tanjore Art Gallery which was inaugurated in 1951. It contains about 150 specimens of sculptural art in bronze and stone which are arranged in an artistic manner. It has been recognized by the Government as a regional museum and it conducts an annual fine arts exhibition during April-May. The Sangita Mahal, a miniature of the surviving court of Tirumalai Nayaka's palace at Madurai, now houses the new Raja Serfoji Arts College opened on 4th July 1955. The college is expected to move into its own building on the Vallam road, three miles from Tanjore.

A large collection of rare manuscripts and books had been made by the Nayakas and Maharashtra Kings. These are now kept in the Raja Sarabhoji Maharaja Saraswathi Mahal Library. The manuscripts are in Sanskrit, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu and relate to various subjects. The Library is administered as a public trust by a committee appointed by the Government. It has brought out several publications recently.

Among the other temples in Tanjore may be mentioned the Rajagopala Perumal temple, the Toppul Pillaiyar temple and the Siva temple in Karunthattangudi. The first of these was founded in 1539 in the time of Achutharaya. It is situated in the heart of the town and has a very large annual income. The Siva temple is more ancient than even the big temple, as it contains an inscription of the time of Gandaraditya who ruled before the time of Rajaraja.

Besides the Schwartz Church mentioned already, there are the St. Peter's Church, the S.P.G. Church, a Roman Catholic Church and a Church built by the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission.

In the town is a Muslim darga of some repute which is said to contain the tomb of a saint named Pir Mahammad Shah Khadiri. He is said to have restored a Brahmin's daughter to life and to have lived with her as her teacher. The tomb is known as the Pappathi Ammal Kovil or the Brahmin woman's temple. There are two festivals in honour of this darga.

Tanjore was a home of the fine arts under the kings who, by their patronage, attracted to their capital, as we have seen in the chapters on History, all the writers, musicians, dancers and artists of the country. Its reputation still survives to some extent. The famous musician and composer Syama Sastri was a native of Tanjore.

Tirukkattupalli:—(Population 6,938), thirteen miles west of Tanjore, contains the ruins of an old fort which was captured by the English in 1771, garrisoned by them in 1781 and taken from them by Hyder Ali in the same year. There are a few inscriptions in the temple of Agniswara relating to the Pandya and Vijayanagar periods.

Thiruvaiyar :—(Population 11,336), six miles north by west of Tanjore, is so called from the fact that five branches of the sacred Cauvery flow within a distance of about five miles of the town. It lies in a fertile neighbourhood on the bank of the Cauvery, is surrounded by luxuriant crops, vegetables and trees and possesses some fine buildings and steps running down to the river which make it look like a miniature Banaras. In fact, there is a saying that it is holier than Banaras by one-sixteenth (காசிக்கு வீசம் அதிகம்). This is based on a story which says that a Brahmin who was going to Banaras to throw his father's bones into the Ganges halted a night at Thiruvaiyar on his way and that, when he woke up in the morning, found that the bones had assumed the shape of a lingam. He still set his face towards Banaras when the bones again became disunited; and now he realised that Thiruvaiyar was the holier place and committed the bones to the river there. Nowadays bones are brought there from other places to be thrown into the Cauvery and many aged and pious persons resort to Thiruvaiyar in the hope of dying there. That it is blessed to die there is explained by a legend of a boy who was killed by Yama, the God of death, while worshipping the God of the five rivers. The latter thereupon is said to have killed Yama but restored him to life again on the condition that he should not molest those who died at Thiruvaiyar or within sight of the smoke of the incense burnt at the temple. In a great pit in front of the southern gate of the temple incense is continually burnt to the God under the title of Alkondar (he who protected men). A figure of the God represents him as a colossal figure crushing Yama under his feet.

The temple is the chief among the seven shrines called the Sapthasthalam (seven places). They are Tiruppayanam, Tiruchathurai, Tiruvedikudi, Tirukkandiyur, Tiruppanthurithi, Tillaisthanam and Thiruvaiyar. The legend says that Nandi who was the chief of Siva's attendants at Thiruvaiyar was married under the auspices of the God at Tirumalavadi (three miles north of Thiruvaiyar) and afterwards was taken in procession round these seven places. A thirteen days' festival of the Sapthasthalam in the month of April celebrates this event and the procession goes round all these places. There are also a number of other festivals. Two of these named the Vaisakha festival and the Adipuram festival are important. On the newmoon day which occurs in the

middle of the latter festival, a 'sula' of Siva is bathed in the Cauvery and large numbers of people bathe at the same time. This festival is supposed to commemorate the beatitude of Appar.

The temple is a fine old building and the God is called Panchanadiswara after the five rivers. It contains a large number of inscriptions chiefly of the Chōḷa, Pandyan and Vijayanagar periods all recording gifts to the temple. In the small shrine called Dakshina Kailasa there are some pillars not usually met with in this part of the country. They are of polished black granite, some of them exquisitely carved, and of a kind that recalls the Chalukyan temples of the Deccan. The temple is richly endowed with lands and money. There are also more than 30 chatrams here. The most important of these is the Kalyanamahal Chatram founded by Sarabhoji, a large and remarkable building charmingly situated on the river bank. It is high and capacious and striking in appearance.

Thiruvaiyar was the home of several well-known musicians and composers. The great saint and singer Thiagaraja, who lived in the time of Sarabhoji and whose compositions are well known among South Indians, lived here. A festival held every year at his tomb on the bank of the river is attended by all the celebrated musicians of not only this district but also of other districts. They sing the songs composed by the saint and this attracts large crowds of music lovers. Patnam Subrahmanya Ayyar and Maha Vaidyanatha Ayyar known throughout the Tamil country also came from this place.

Vallam :—(Population 8,720), seven miles south-west of Tanjore, is situated on a low and rather bare plateau to which it gives its name. The place was once fortified and is described as a " a fortress of considerable strength and one of the great bulwarks of Tanjore." It was given by the Nayaka of Madurai to the Tanjore Nayaka in exchange for Tiruchirappalli somewhere about the year 1560. It was captured by the Bijapur troops in 1660 and by Chokkanatha of Madurai in 1664. The fort was seized by the English in 1771 when they were marching towards Tanjore to coerce the Raja, but was restored in 1776. The Collectors of Tanjore have lived at Vallam in a fine building.

Little is left of the old fort except the moat and a portion of the wall. It was oval in shape, its length being about 780 yards and its breadth about 520. The road now cuts right through it. There is a remarkable tank inside called Vajratheertham which is popularly believed to be unfathomable and is held very sacred. It is said to have been excavated in penance by Indra after he seduced Ahalya, the wife of sage Gautama. People bathe in it on Sundays in the

month of Karthikai (November-December) and on one day in the month of Masi (February-March) when there is a festival at Kumbakonam and water is believed to flow from the Ganges into this pool. Close by the latter is a Siva temple. There is also a Vishnu temple inside the fort. The well-known Vallam pebbles are picked up on the site of the fort when road metal is dug out.

TIRUTHURAIPUNDI TALUK.

Tiruthuraipundi taluk lies on the coast in the south-east part of the district. It has an area of 496 square miles and a population of 248,942. It is partly under the irrigation system of Vennar at its tail end and partly manavari depending upon monsoon rains. The Mayavaram-Arantangi-Karaikkudi and the Tiruthuraipundi-Point Calimere sections of the Southern Railway pass through the taluk. The places of historical or antiquarian interest are briefly described below :—

Agastyampalli, adjacent to Vedaranyam salt pans, possesses a temple dedicated to the sage Agastya containing inscriptions relating to the Chōḷa and Pandyan times.

Idumbavanam ;—(Population 4,285), eight and a half miles south-south-west of Tiruthuraipundi, contains a very old Siva temple called Idumbavaneswaraswami believed to be so named after Idumban, the giant mentioned in the Mahabharatha. There is a popular belief that persons who die here feel no pain. The management of the temple vests permanently in a Brahmin family of Kunniyur in Mannargudi taluk. It has got properties worth over ten lakhs of rupees.

Kovilur, famous in ancient Saivite literature, lies about a mile from Muthupet railway station. It contains a temple of Mantrapuriswara. Inscriptions found in the temple show how gifts were made to it for the prosperity of Rajaraja III and for the victory of Prince Irungolar. They also show that the worship of the Thevaram Saints had become common even in Chōḷa times.

Muthupet :—(Population 9,738), is a railway station and seaport in the south-west corner of the taluk. In the adjoining village of Jambavanodai there are two famous dargas which attract annually thousands of Muslims from all parts of the State. The more important of the dargas is that of one Sheik Davud who is said to have lived hundreds of years ago. According to a legend the tomb was discovered by an Idaiyar who was ploughing the land about it and was struck blind when the plough touched something. A voice from heaven informed his wife about the

existence of the tomb and ordered her to report the matter to a rich Muslim of Idasapattinam twelve miles away, who then built a tomb over the place. The shrine is especially resorted to by invalids and women possessed by evil spirits and remarkable stories are told of the cures effected there. The other tomb is that of a holy woman called Fatima whose history is obscure. Pilgrims are often directed by the oracle at the first tomb to get counsel from the second.

Point Calimere, is the northern point of Palk's Bay. It is a low promontory only 40 miles from Point Pedro in Ceylon. A bath in the sea at Point Calimere is considered particularly holy especially on the newmoon days of Thai (December-January) and Adi (July-August) and one or two other sacred dates. The place is a health resort. There is a light-house here.

Tillaivilagam:—(Population 4,942), eleven miles south-west of Tiruthuraipundi, is a railway station. But the village proper lies three miles south of the railway station. Its only importance is a temple built about 100 years ago. Its interest originated in the discovery in the earth here about 100 years ago of images of Natesa, Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanuman. These images are considered to be particularly lifelike and the popular belief is that they must have been alive at one time. The temple is remarkable as combining the worship of Siva and Vishnu.

Tiruthuraipundi :—(Population 11,107), called also Bilvavanam from the large number of Bilva trees which formerly grew in the neighbourhood, is the headquarters of the Tahsildar and a railway junction.

Vedaranyam :—(Population 16,945), (forest of the Vedas) lies in the south-east corner of the taluk. The place is considered very sacred, second in sanctity only to Rameswaram. A bath in the sea here on the newmoon days of Thai (December-January) or Adi (July-August) is considered to be holy. The village is famous as the birth-place of Paranjoti Munivar, the author of Tiruvilayadal Puranam, who lived in the thirteenth century. Its temple has been celebrated by the Thevaram Saints. It receives a money allowance of more than Rs. 7,000 a year and owns more than 23,000 acres. A large number of inscriptions have been found in the temple dating from the time of Parantaka I (905–945). It is seen from them that Devadasis attached to the temple were married women and that slaves were sold even to the temple. The place became famous during the days of the Salt Satyagraha as has been described in the chapter on Nationalism and Independence.

KARAIKKAL.

Karaikkal situated at the mouth of the river Arasalar is the chief town of what was for more than 300 years a French Settlement and which has only very recently (1954) become part of Indian territory again. The place was first settled by the French in 1739. They had been making efforts even earlier to obtain a footing in the Tanjore Kingdom, but their attempts had been thwarted by the jealousy of the Dutch at Nagapattinam. In 1738, however, they obtained a chance to carry out their wishes. In that year Saiyaji was driven from his kingdom owing to the elevation to the throne of his cousin Sidduji by the influence of the Muslim commandant of Tanjore, Saiyid Khan, and from his asylum at Chidambaram, only 24 miles from Pondicherry, he addressed Dumas, the French Governor, offering to make over to him the town of Karaikkal and the Fort Kircan Gurree, ten villages in the adjacent country and all the lands depending upon them, if Dumas would help him to recover his throne. It will be remembered that it was Saiyaji himself who ten years later made a similar offer of Devikottai to the English in return for their assistance in restoring him to his throne. Dumas at once entered into an engagement with Saiyaji, promising to supply a lakh of rupees in silver, to furnish him with arms, gunpowder and other warlike stores and to render him all further assistance in his power. In return for this engagement, Saiyaji sent him a formal deed of cession of Karaikkal. Dumas thereupon despatched two ships of war with troops, artillery and warlike stores to take possession of Karaikkal and to afford the promised assistance. These ships anchored off Karaikkal in August 1738. Meanwhile, Saiyaji had by bribes and promises gained over the principal nobility of Tanjore including the all-powerful Saiyid Khan. The result was Sidduji was suddenly seized in his palace and Saiyaji returned in triumph to Tanjore.

This was the intelligence which greeted the captains of the French ships when they anchored off Karaikkal. It was accompanied by an intimation that the assistance of the French was not required, that Karaikkal was occupied by three to four thousand troops under Khan Saheb, a trusted officer of Saiyaji and that any attempt to land would be considered as a hostile act and would be resisted. The French captains thereupon decided to suspend action pending instructions from Pondicherry. Saiyaji had in the meanwhile written in a different strain to Dumas. To him he declared his perfect willingness to surrender Karaikkal, but pleaded his inability to do so as he was not still fully secure in his capital. Dumas was not deceived by these excuses, but being a prudent man he decided to accept them although he knew that his ships were capable of taking Karaikkal by force. He felt sure

that a better opportunity would sooner or latter occur. For the time being he was satisfied with the legal cession of Karaikkal which he had obtained from the Raja. He recalled the ships to Pondicherry.

The opportunity soon came. No sooner did Chanda Sahib learn that Saiyaji had broken his promise to the French than he decided that the moment had arrived for him to cement his alliance with the French. He wrote to Dumas that he was at war with Saiyaji and offered to take Karaikkal with his own troops and to make it over to the French. All this he offered to do as a mark of his friendship to them. Dumas accepted this offer, seeing that it involved no risk to the French and that it did not involve even a suspicion that the French were greedy for territorial expansion. Chanda Sahib detached to Karaikkal four thousand horse commanded by Francisco Pereira, a Spaniard in his service, but who was entirely attached to the French interests. The Tanjore forces receded at their approach and Pereira arrived at Karaikkal on 6th February 1789 without any opposition. He, however, found the fort of Kircan Gurree situated on the river about a mile and a half from the town, occupied by about 400 Tanjore troops. He attacked this fort and took it the next day and then hastened with the news to Pondicherry. Dumas immediately despatched a small vessel with troops and stores under Pereira to Karaikkal. The ship reached Karaikkal in the course of a day and Pereira formally made over to the French, under a deed dated 14th February 1739, the territory previously ceded by Saiyaji. A few days later Dumas sent a ship of war to Karaikkal with every thing necessary to place the settlement in a state of security.

These measures completely overawed Saiyaji. He at once sent messages to Pondicherry, casting all the blame for his previous acts on the Dutch at Nagapattinam and as a token of his sincerity he sent two deeds, dated 25th April 1739, one of which contained a ratification of the former treaty and the other an order to the inhabitants of the districts he had yielded to acknowledge and obey the French. Before, however, his messages reached Pondicherry, he was again deposed. His successor Pratap Singh, however, confirmed Saiyaji's agreement and likewise granted a greater extent of territory to the French. He also suggested that they should fortify it.

In 1749 the French and Chanda Sahib besieged Tanjore and extorted from him a concession of an additional 81 villages in the neighbourhood of Karaikkal. By 1760 the total number of villages in the settlement had risen to 113 by various "purchases and cessions." The fort of Karaikkal was useful to the French as a depot during the war at Tiruchirappalli between 1751 and 1754 and it was confirmed to them by the

agreement of the latter year. It was the base for Lally's incursions into Tanjore in 1758 and the English naval demonstration against it from the sea was one of the reasons for his retreat. A sea-fight occurred off the place at this juncture in which the French were defeated.

Early in 1760 the English decided to take Karaikkal and thus to prevent the French from annoying the Tanjore Raja. They sent a force by sea and another from Tiruchirappalli. These succeeded in taking the town as well as a redoubt called Fort Dauphin. The French retired to Fort Lewis and here they were bombarded by the English. The bombardment had the effect of destroying the machinery for raising the drawbridge as well as the gate beyond it, but the English did not know this. At the same time, they came to know that Lally had sent a force to relieve the French. They therefore called upon the French to surrender and this they did at once. The English, however, did not retain Karaikkal for a long time. In 1765 they restored it to the French. It was retaken by them in 1778 and was not finally restored till 1814 when it was stipulated that no fortifications should be erected and no more soldiers maintained there than should be necessary for police purposes.

In this and in other respects the settlement was governed by the general treaties which prescribed the relations between British India and the French settlements in India. A treaty of 1815 provided for the peaceful evacuation of such settlements on the occurrence of war between the French and the English and for the mutual restoration of fugitives from justice, whether civil or criminal. By the consent, however, of both the contracting powers, this latter provision was held to be in force only so far as it concerns criminal offences of a grave and non-political character. The salt question was disposed of by a convention of 1815 as modified in 1818 and 1837 whereby it was agreed that no salt should be made in any of the French settlements, but that British salt should be bought by the French Government at cost price and soid at approximately the same rates as in British India. The French Government was receiving annually as an indemnity for this a sum of Rs. 4,42,600. In addition to these agreements, there were also some special conventions relating to Karaikkal. Most of them were connected with irrigation questions. Some of the irrigation channels in British India run into Karaikkal territory and there were consequently disputes between the ryots on either side of the border. These disputes were generally solved by conferences between the local authorities of the Tanjore district and those of the Karaikkal settlement and by conventions entered into by the two Governments on the results of such conferences.

The lands in and around Karaikkal are very fertile being irrigated by seven branches of the Cauvery, namely, the Nandalar, the Nattar, the Arasalar, the Tirumalrajanar, the Mudikondanar, the Vanjiar and the Nular, besides many smaller channels. The population is naturally dense[1]. There were six classes of wet, four of dry and three of waste lands and these were assessed as follows per hectare or 2½ acres :—

	Wet lands			Dry lands.			Waste lands.		
	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.	RS.	A.	P.
First class	21	4	0	16	12	0	3	12	0
Second class	17	8	0	11	12	0	2	8	0
Third class	13	12	0	6	12	0	1	1	6
Fourth class	10	0	0	1	12	0	..		
Fifth class	6	4	3	..			..		
Sixth class	0	8	0	..			..		

The settlement was divided for administrative purposes into a small number of communes each under a mayor and council and one or more 'adjoints'. The members were elected by universal suffrage, but in the municipality of Karaikkal half the number of seats were reserved for Europeans or their descendants and the remaining half for Indians. The head of the Government was an *Administrateur* who was subordinate to the French Governor at Pondicherry.

As has already been stated, Karaikkal has lately become part of the Indian territory.

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[1] In the census of 1926 it was 56,091. Later figures are not available.

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